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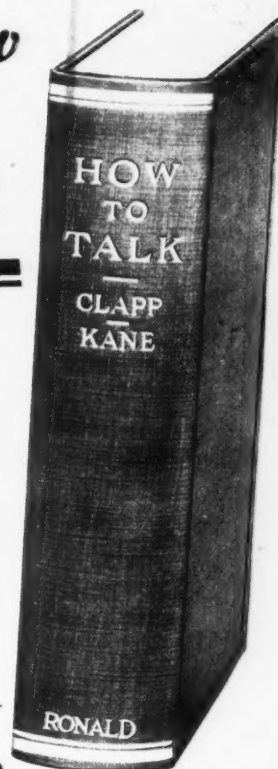
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A GREAT COMMANDER DIES



MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

Generalissimo of the Allied Armies in the World War, who died at his Paris home
on March 20, at the age of 77

Times Wide World

Current HISTORY

Nationalism Aflame Throughout The World

By NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

AUTHOR OF *The Restless Pacific*

IT is one of the paradoxes of history that the man who gave practical form to the modern spirit of internationalism did more than any one else to strengthen the forces of nationalism throughout the world. Woodrow Wilson induced the European diplomats to accept the League of Nations. But before doing this he offered the world a phrase which gave nationalism new life—"self-determination." As the League has grown it has fed the national pride of Europe's new nations. In Asia, self-determination, fostered by the notorious Third International of Bolshevik Russia, has pointed the way to the creation of group consciousness such as never before existed. Throughout the British Empire this same sentiment has resulted in home rule movements, in the virtual independence of Ireland and in the establishment of the Dominions as nations in all but form. Throughout Latin America nationalism has grown more intense with each effort to bring about a pooling of interests. Even in the United States the invocations of the internationalists have stiffened the tendency toward independent action. American nationalism has never been so strong. From ocean

to ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Rio Grande, America's 120 millions are more than ever conscious of their Americanism and more than ever confident of their national future.

The World War, of course, intensified nationalism. Not only was patriotism artificially stimulated by propaganda, but it was made more enduring by the countless personal sacrifices in the national cause. The fervor of loyalty was stimulated by emotional appeals to the nation's past glory and to its future greatness when victory was achieved. The field was thus ripe for the sowing of the seeds of self-determination. In its name—or rather in the name of national aspirations—Central Europe split into pieces. Some of these formed new States, others joined forces with those already existing. In the Balkans bitter quarrels about racial and national boundaries flared up and are still hot. Everywhere the appeal was to the great past of small peoples.

A similar reaction had occurred in Europe a hundred years previously. The French Revolution had given a fresh impetus to national consciousness and ambitions. By another curious paradox,

the efforts to transcend national lines and create a European empire had had much the same reaction as the modern effort to unite the nations in a league—it was followed by a virulent recrudescence of nationalism. Napoleon, like Woodrow Wilson, wishing to unite Europe, helped keep it disjointed.

WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

Nationalism, as we know it today, is of comparatively recent origin. Before the Middle Ages it scarcely existed. In Spain it gained force with the rise of the Spanish-American empire in the sixteenth century. Elsewhere in Europe the tendency to form solid, intensely patriotic groups likewise took root. Elizabeth's England was already keenly nationalistic. France and Holland of the early seventeenth century were acutely nation-conscious. But in Central and Eastern Europe peoples of the same or different languages and traditions for centuries continued to pay allegiance to a reigning house or formed a league with other petty States. The modern nations of Germany and Italy did not take shape until the middle of the nineteenth century. The resurgence of Polish, Hungarian, Czech, Rumanian, Serbian and other nationalist tendencies gathered force during the last half of the same century, largely as a reaction to dynastic efforts to bind them more solidly together into larger units. Since the World War the newer States of Central and Eastern Europe have become more self-centred than ever. The achievement of independence has intensified national pride and race hatreds.

Nationalism is the sense of oneness of a people bound together by common traditions and customs, and by loyalty to a common past. A single language helps to strengthen the spiritual ties which history has created and which are reinforced by economic interests and by the machinery of government. In most cases there are geographical as well as linguistic and cultural frontiers of nationalism. But the strength of nationalism lies in the sense of group kinship. Economic power may coincide with national aspirations. Government may strengthen

the machinery for concerted action in behalf of the group. But without the community spirit, without the pride of patriotism, without the consciousness of a common heritage and the dream of a common future, the group lacks that dynamic unity which is the mainspring of national and international growth today.

The term "nationalism" has been badly abused, sometimes through ignorance and sometimes with a desire to mislead. This is particularly true when it has been applied to the Oriental world. The ready confusion that exists in the interchange of such labels as "nation," "race," "people" and "country" has been further enhanced by the careless interjection of the word "nationalism" into the picture. Our Western concept of a nation as a closely knit, politically organized, unified group has misled us when we have applied it to China or India or the Philippines. We have tended to ignore the differences of language, religion, custom and tradition which separate the people of India and which so long divided the Chinese among themselves. Indian "nationalism" is nationwide only in so far as it represents a common dislike of the English overlords. It is not parallel to the dynamic force which today unites the Americans into a solid unit. Chinese nationalism is even more complex, representing anti-foreignism, anti-reactionism, anti-feudalism. Underneath it is a consciousness of the need for a growing loyalty to the larger unit of the Chinese race, rather than to the local units which have heretofore held the patriotic devotion of the Chinese.

But as the art of stimulating nationalism by propaganda is much more highly developed today than it was two decades ago, it is logical to expect that its growth in modern Asia will be more rapid than it was in Europe. External as well as internal forces have an interest in strengthening nationalism in Asia. The tendency toward self-determination not only flatters group pride, but is useful to the one great modern empire which has consistently preached internationalism. Soviet Russia has for a decade been demanding internationalism,



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SIMON BOLIVAR (1783-1830)

The hero of South American nationalism, who helped Peru, Bolivia and Colombia to gain independence

at the same time that she has done all in her power to rouse the nationalist sentiments of the subject peoples in Asia. In India, in China, in the Dutch East Indies, her agents have skillfully combined anti-foreignism with local patriotism. They have realized that the breaking up of Asia, rather than the unification of Asia, constitutes the real threat to Western Europe in general and to Great Britain in particular. Hence they have done all in their power to stimulate the forces of dissension as part of their campaign against the "capitalist" nations of Europe.

NATIONALIST TRENDS IN EUROPE AND ASIA

As a result of the World War eight new nations were born in Europe and three were much enlarged. The new na-

tions are Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Ireland. The three enlarged nations are Rumania, Yugoslavia (formerly known only as Serbia) and Greece.

Unfortunately the boundaries of these nations have caused troubles from the beginning, not only because of the enthusiastic claims for territory on the part of those concerned, but because, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, the efforts to lay down linguistic boundaries were hampered by the crazy-quilt distribution of racial groups in adjacent villages within a few miles of each other. As a result the new Rumania has many Hungarians and Germans within its borders. Yugoslavia has Hungarians, Italians and Germans, together with Croats, Slovenes and Serbs. Hungarian troubles are not so much because of alien racial groups within Hungarian borders as because of the three million Hungarians living outside its borders. The problem of racial minorities, which affects nearly all the new nations, is essentially a problem of nationalism. The alien groups are supported by their national and linguistic kinsmen in their agitations for greater freedom for themselves. While the League of Nations has taken cognizance of the problem of minorities, it has not been able to assuage the violent nationalist sentiments which color its every aspect.

Another manifestation of European nationalism may be seen in the activities of Europe's dictators. Mussolini in Italy, Primo de Rivera in Spain and King Alexander in Yugoslavia are apostles of intense nationalism. Mussolini at one stage of his career toyed with the idea that modern Italy was the heir of the Roman Empire. He has consistently preached an almost Prussian form of Italian nationalism. By stimulating the national pride of the Italian people he has been able to enlist their patriotism in support of important reforms. He has brought about a degree of cooperation between the citizen and the State which is rarely achieved save in times of war.

The slogan of self-determination has wrought great changes in the Near East.



LOUIS KOSSUTH (1802-1894)
Hungarian patriot, who led the revolt against Austria in 1848

Under the impetus of the new nationalism Turkey not only has thrown off the yoke of European special privileges, but has broken away from the influence of the Mohammedan church. The success of the new Turks in defying the European powers at the conference at Lausanne in 1923 and in withdrawing the privileges of extraterritoriality so long enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey, not only acted as a fillip to Turkish nationalism, but stimulated the independence movement throughout all Asia. Even the Chinese Nationalists have visited Turkey to learn the secret of success of Turkish nationalism.

One of the corollaries of this is the revival with new vigor of the Egyptian

demands for complete independence from British supervision. In the mandated territories of Asia Minor the movement has taken the form of increased demands for participation in the government by the native peoples. Even Palestine has witnessed the curious paradox of a rise of Arab nationalism coincident with the organization of the Jewish nationalist State. In fact, it may be said that the Zionist movement is itself another manifestation of the modern nationalist tendencies, albeit there are many Jews who oppose it on these very grounds.

Elsewhere in Asia the course of nationalism has spread. In India the conflicting claims of opposing religious and racial groups have hampered the success of the movement to free all India from the British rule. Among the Malay peoples of the island world about Singapore local jealousies have operated to prevent the creation of a solidified spirit of Malay nationalism.

In Java there were two brief anti-Dutch uprisings, obviously inspired from Soviet sources. But differences of language and custom have made the cry of "Java for the Javanese" a mere empty phrase. The people are unready for any such large unit under native rule.

In the Philippines the nationalist movement has taken the form of repeated demands for "complete, immediate and absolute" independence. The impetus in this case came originally from the Americans, who had taught the Filipinos the Declaration of Independence and the beauties of self-government, and then wondered that the Filipinos used these very concepts as arguments against the

continuation of American control over the islands. But there, as elsewhere in the Orient, local and linguistic barriers work against effective unity, and weaken the forces of Philippine nationalism.

In China, as already indicated, the Nationalist movement has been, in reality, a movement to modernize China and to shake off the influence of foreigners of all sorts—including the Manchus. The so-called "Nationalist" party has gained nation-wide strength in China. But it will be years before the concept of nationalism as we understand it in the Western world will be taken over by the mass of the Chinese people. The rapid spread of loyalty to a greater China has, however, astonished the world, and indicates that nationalism can be quickened by effective propaganda even in regions where it was formerly non-existent, as it had been in the Europe of the Middle Ages.

LINKED WITH RELIGION IN JAPAN

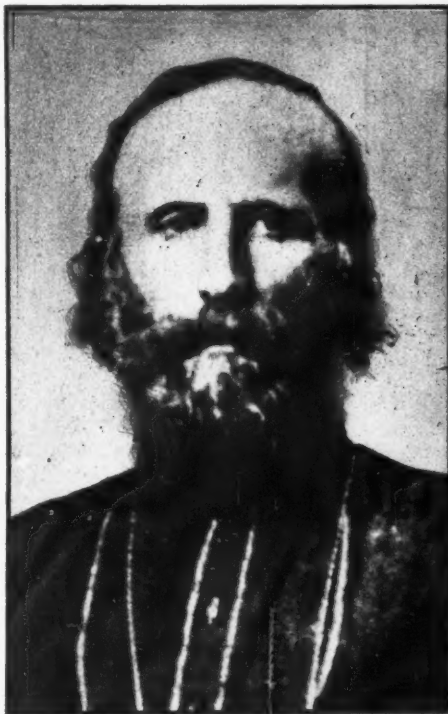
It has remained for Japan, of the Oriental nations, to make nationalism into a force that is almost as powerful as that of pre-war Germany. In this instance nationalism and religion have joined hands. Strictly speaking, the loyalty of the Japanese is to his Emperor. In fact, part of the worldly success of modern Japan is due to the skillful blending of nationalism and religion in Shintoism. The person of the Emperor embodies the national spirit of Japan. By inculcating reverence for the Emperor, the Japanese are instilling the sense of unity of the Japanese people. In fact, the Japanese Government possesses in Shinto a splendid weapon for stimulating national solidarity. Great stress is laid on the nation's past, and shrines are everywhere built in which the idol of the Japanese people is worshiped. It amounts in effect to making nationalism a cult, and to exalting as virtues the principles of loyalty and duty to the State and of the subordination of personal to national interests.

This is all the more interesting in that it has been developed consciously and purposely. The Japanese who went out into the world fifty years ago, to study

the ways of other nations in order to see what Japan might profitably adapt to her own needs, were quick to see that the present is an age of nationalism, and that if Japan was to compete with the rest of the modern world she would have to obtain that unity of action possessed by those powers that rested their strength on nationalism. Fortunately there was in the minds of the Japanese rulers a close association between the concepts of loyalty, reverence and patriotism. These, to be sure, had existed as respects smaller units than the empire. But skillful development of them, with a special appeal to the religious spirit of the people, served to make a unit of the Japanese. The success of the policy is indicated by the great national strength of Japan today.

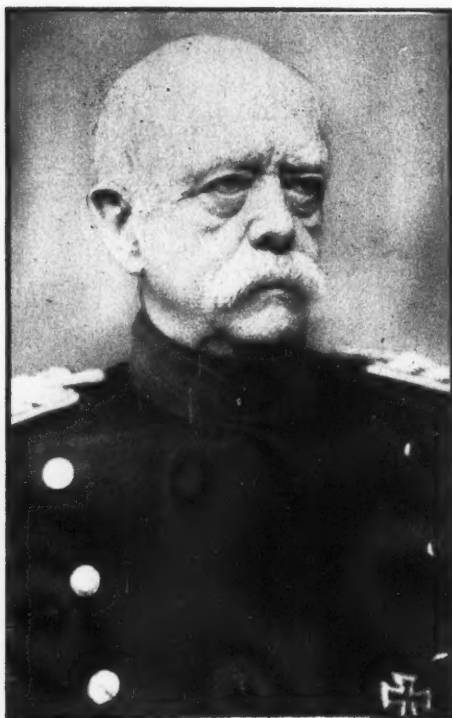
NATIONALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

In Central and South America nationalism has grown in direct proportion



GENERAL GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI
(1807-1882)

Who, with his thousand chosen men, fought for the unification of Italy in 1860



PRINCE OTTO VON BISMARCK
(1815-1898)

Who directed Prussian foreign policy to the final achievement of German unity in 1871

to the prosperity and modernization of the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies. The devoted patriotism of the people of Argentina is in part a reflection of their just pride in the development of their country into one of the most progressive and powerful of the modern nations. But in Latin America as elsewhere regional differences have been intensified by quarrels since the nations have achieved their independence. In recent years, anti-American propaganda has helped to strengthen nationalism south of the Rio Grande. In part the result of determined stimulation of resentment against the United States by Europeans who hoped thus to injure American trade and improve their own, the development of anti-Americanism was made easy by the repeated blunders of American diplomats. Curiously enough, in the New World as in the Old, all efforts to solidify the smaller States

—notably those in Central America—have resulted in the intensification rather than the modification of nationalist differences. While this may have been in part a reaction against outside pressure—especially from the United States—the lesson seems to be that whenever serious efforts are made to transcend national lines, the cause of nationalism is strengthened.

The part played by history in shaping nationalism is well illustrated in Latin America. Theoretically, belonging to the same two racial strains—Iberian and Indian—speaking, with the exception of Brazil, the same Spanish language, it would be natural to expect the formation of a single Spanish-American and another Portuguese-American nation. But in point of fact regional geography and local history have produced strong separatist tendencies. In certain cases, notably Mexico, Guatemala and Peru, the large Indian population has still further enhanced the differentiation. Venezuela has nothing in common with the Argen-



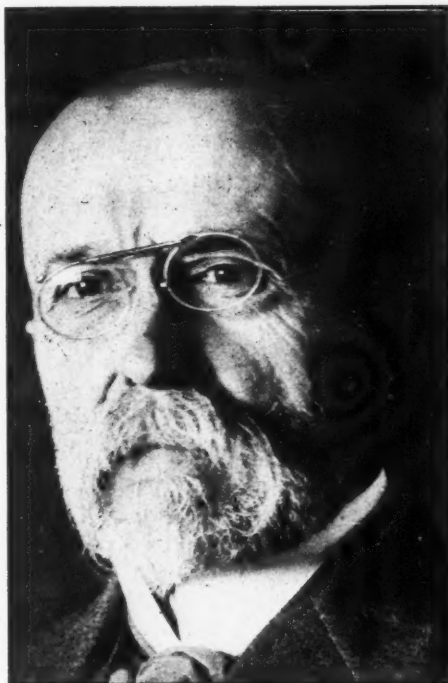
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SIR ROGER CASEMENT (1864-1916)
A member of the Irish Sinn Féin, who was executed in 1916 for attempting to smuggle arms into Ireland

tine other than language. Peru and Chile have quarreled for many years over points affecting national pride and interest. The increasing prosperity of these countries has made it easier for them to develop national consciousness.

The growth of nationalism in the United States has been one of the most difficult things for the people of Europe to understand. They have assumed that Americans are nothing but transplanted Europeans, and that the early colonists, in particular, were Englishmen living on American soil. This is true in a literal sense. But it takes no account of the transformation of these transplanted Europeans of various racial origins into the distinctive American type. It ignores the influence of the frontier, of the powerful molding force of nature in the new continent. It overlooks the fact that despite the governmental ties that bound the Colonies to England the people early became identified with and enamored of their own localities on this side of the water, and rarely had the opportunity to keep in personal touch with relatives on the other side. Family traditions of the old Colonial stock went back to their American beginnings, not to their European origin. As the descendants of the early colonists moved westward, they looked back to New England and the coast regions with the same sentimentality that immigrants of today look back to their European fatherland.

During the century and a half since the Revolution, American nationalism has had to stand the strain of numerous separatist tendencies. Regional differences—first the West against the East, and later the South against the North—have from time to time assumed ominous proportions. The rapid diffusion of scattered groups of pioneers over an entire continent tended to weaken the bonds of unity. Successive waves of immigrants in large numbers, bringing with them racial and political jealousies of Europe, raised the danger that foreign colonies might be formed within American territory. With the example of the French Canadians, the Pennsylvania Dutch and the New Mexican Spaniards ever before



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DR. THOMAS G. MASARYK

The President and one of the founders of the Czechoslovak Republic

their eyes, the more thoughtful Americans could not but look with uneasiness on the tendency of foreigners to settle in groups and to perpetuate their language and customs rather than to adopt those of the United States.

The very consciousness of these distracting tendencies stimulated American nationalism so much that on occasions it tended toward excesses. The older elements, for the most part indifferent or actually antagonistic to all Europeans, responded subconsciously to the sense of self-protection that seems to exist among groups as well as in individuals. This took the form of bitter anti-foreignism and even of violence against the Catholic Church in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, not unlike the spirit behind the Ku Klux Klan of recent years. Immigrants were welcomed as laborers, whether in business or in the home, but scorned as individuals. Bitterness was manifested successively toward those

racess which came in largest numbers—the Irish first, and then the Germans, and during the last quarter century the Italians and the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. It is noticeable that hostility was in direct proportion to the numbers of the foreign group, and to their inclination to cling together and perpetuate their own languages and traditions.

ASSIMILATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Today, the few professional foreign agitators who strive to keep alive foreign languages in this country and to keep close the ties with European countries are fighting in a lost cause. The immigration restriction laws have cut off the streams of immigrants at their source. Each year sees an increase in the number of the assimilated. The separatist tendencies which have as their goal the maintenance of groups of "German-Americans," "Irish-Americans," "Italian-Americans" and other such alien-thinking organizations are counteracted by the pressure toward like-mindedness with the old American stock. The fundamental weakness of the hyphenate idea is that it assumes that all residents of these United States are conscious of ties with one or other European national group. It ignores the many millions whose ancestors came from two or more European stocks. Are these but American mongrels?

The presence of millions of persons descended from peoples with different traditions of government and different social customs from those of the older American elements has given nationalism a special task of cementing the newer to the old. In Europe nationalism has had a defensive rôle—of preserving what already exists. In America it has the

aggressive rôle of replacing other traditions and other loyalties. Although in many cases the outward manifestations of this aggressive rôle have been open to serious criticism, the special significance of this unifying function cannot escape thoughtful persons. Nationalism in the United States has the task of assimilating alien masses, of insuring the perpetuation of a single American race, of counteracting the development of foreign groups which considered themselves aliens in our midst.

The existence of a strong American nationalism has occasionally been regarded as a handicap toward international cooperation. The fallacy of this argument is apparent when it is realized that the nations of Europe, where nationalism is even more virulent, have been ready enough to join hands in a common cause. In fact, nationalism offers a convenient vehicle for international cooperation. Such cooperation differs from internationalism much as federalism differs from a strongly centralized government. Even the League is, as its name implies, an association of nations, not a superstate transcending national boundaries.

If the world is permitted to enter upon another peace of centuries, such as existed in parts of Europe and the Near East under the Roman Empire, we may see the gradual decline of separatist tendencies and the substitution of a sort of cosmopolitanism for the present provincial nationalism. But until that distant day arrives there is much to be gained by accepting the realities in the world today. Foremost among these is the fact of nationalism, with its good and evil. For the time being nationalism is triumphant. It is the part of a practical people to make the best of it.

The Causes of Anglo-American Differences

The seriousness of the discussion of Anglo-American differences which is now taking place on both sides of the Atlantic makes it important to consider a wide diversity of opinion. As a sequel to various articles on the subject which already have appeared in *CURRENT HISTORY*, the editors present the two following contributions from opposed British points of view—one emphasizing the element of danger to peace and the other pointing to the essentially pacific character of Anglo-American relations despite the growth of rivalry in the economic sphere—followed by a third viewpoint, that of Alanson B. Houghton, former United States Ambassador to Great Britain.

I—Dangers of War

By R. PALME DUTT

A GRADUATE OF OXFORD; EDITOR OF *The Labour Monthly*, LONDON; AUTHOR OF *Socialism and the Living Wage* AND OTHER WORKS

WHAT is the future of Anglo-American relations? Today it has become clear to all that this issue is the dominant issue of international politics, vitally concerning not only the inhabitants of the United States and Britain, but of every country in the world, and governing the perspective of the whole future period of world history.

The gathering strains and tensions of the past two years, most powerfully brought to light in the Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 and the crisis over the Anglo-French naval-military agreement in 1928, have forced this issue to the forefront of public consciousness in both countries. It is probable that in the immediate future the very gravity of the strain and menace revealed will lead to a reaction, and that during the next two years we may see successive attempts at conciliation on both sides, at a further measure of naval limitation, at a possible definition and amendment of naval law, and at attempts toward closer world cooperation.

Such interludes of alternating sharp crisis and tension, followed by a lull and moves toward conciliation, have marked the development of every large-scale world antagonism. In the same way, the crises of 1905 and 1911, which preluded the war of 1914, were followed successively by the Naval Holiday negotiations and by the Haldane Mission to Berlin. It would be a grave mistake to overestimate these various particular phases in either direction, and to exaggerate either the momentary storms of a still only gathering antagonism, as in the hysterical press outbursts accompanying the crisis of 1928, or to be lulled to rest by signs of a conciliatory spirit or partial agreements. A realist political outlook will need to examine more seriously and deeply the basic forces at work, and the direction in which they are moving.

In the present article the attempt will be made to examine some aspects of the antagonism as it has so far developed, and the consequent groupings of world politics that show signs of being in process of formation. At the present time

conclusions on these questions can only be tentative; but it is necessary from the outset, with the experience of the last war behind us, to endeavor to trace and keep close watch on every sign of new developing antagonisms and diplomatic combinations which give rise to the menace of war. The attitude of mind which endeavors to ignore these questions, or to cover them over with general incantations of good-will and the hope of peace, is a basically frivolous attitude of mind, and the best helper of the war process. On the contrary, if such questions arise or signs appear, if economic forces and strategic preparations appear to be heading for war, then it is necessary that knowledge of this, so far from being hushed up, should be brought into the fullest light of day, so that the millions of men and women in every country may realize what is taking place and face in time the problems that confront them.

It has been already noted by a writer in *CURRENT HISTORY* (J. T. Gerould on "Freedom of the Seas: An American Standpoint" in the issue of February, 1929) that Anglo-American antagonism has always existed in respect of the question of the freedom of the seas: "From the beginning of our history as a nation we have contended with Great Britain regarding the freedom of the seas."

This is true. Nevertheless, the character of the antagonism since the war has so radically changed that it can no longer be regarded as simply a continuance of the old (hence the inadequacy of attempts to solve the problem by simply an amendment of sea law); the change is not merely one of magnitude, but of quality. Today the antagonism can be traced, not merely in the immediate naval issue which is its sharpest expression, but in the whole economic and commercial field, in every part of the world, in every leading industry and raw material, and even in such varied fields as literature, the cinema or the opium question, not to mention the recent Salvation Army conflict. A single fact can illustrate the change. Not long ago Lord Grey had occasion to declare that in the decade before the war the

British naval and military experts, in their calculations for war contingencies, always ruled out the possibility of war with America. Today this can no longer be said. Indeed, a frank answer by the naval and military experts on both sides, if such could be obtained, would certainly show very much the opposite to be the case.

AMERICA'S RISE AS LEADING WORLD POWER

What lies behind this change? Undoubtedly one great fact above all—the emergence of America since the war as a world power, as the first world power.

Before the war the United States was still relatively isolated from the main stream of world politics. Its principal task was still the conquest of its own territory, with extensions of influence into the rest of America. It was still a debtor country to Europe. Its main exports were still food and raw materials. All this was in rapid process of change; but it was the forcing house of the war that ripened half a century's development in a few years, transformed the relations of America and Europe, and ushered in the new stage of the world financial and economic hegemony of America.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century the Anglo-German antagonism was the dominant imperialist antagonism. This antagonism of the two leading world powers subordinated all other issues to itself, and constituted the red thread running through the tangle of events that led to the World War.

The change in the relative position today is strikingly revealed in the following table:

EXPORTS OF BRITAIN, GERMANY AND UNITED STATES

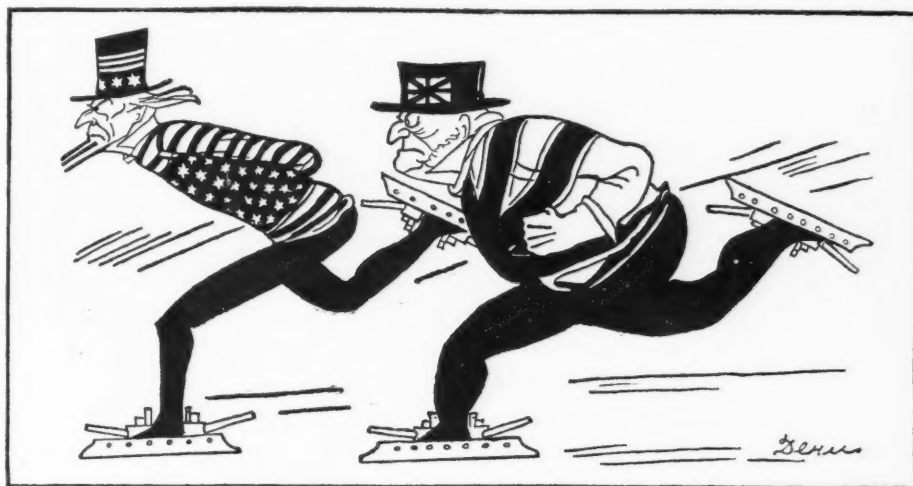
	1913.		1927.	
	Exports in Millions of Dollars.	P. C. of World Trade.	Exports in Millions of Dollars.	P. C. of World Trade.
Britain	2,556	13.9	3,447	11.3
U. S. A.	2,448	13.3	4,758	15.6
Germany	2,403	13.1	2,428	8.0

League of Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, November, 1928.

Thus, by the war Britain reduced its principal commercial rival, Germany, from 13 per cent to 8 per cent of the

world's trade (even after the measure of recovery by 1927). But in doing so it only found itself confronted with a yet more powerful commercial rival, the United States, which by 1927 monopolized a hitherto untouched record of 15.6 per cent of the world's trade, and replaced a previous slight inferiority to

paper. There are no arms and garrisons behind it extended over the world to guard the exaction of the tribute. The British Empire is an empire of the sword. British arms and diplomacy are extended over the whole world, where America is still unsurely feeling its way. This disproportion is a powerful driving



—Pravda, Moscow

MEETING OF THE CHAMPIONS
A Soviet version of Anglo-American rivalry

Britain by a superiority of \$1,300,000,000, or nearly 40 per cent above the British level.

The United States today not only holds the world economic and financial hegemony, but is advancing every year at a pace outdistancing all its rivals. Britain, on the other hand, is not only going backward relatively but absolutely. Nevertheless Britain, in its existing structure, depends for its existence on its world trade. This is a situation of contradiction far more powerful than the old Anglo-German antagonism that led to the last war.

The contradiction is yet stronger. For the British Empire is still the strongest world empire, in its colonial possessions covering a quarter of the earth and its primacy of strategic and naval power. The United States has relatively few colonies. The net of financial and economic hegemony which it is casting round the world is a net of gold and

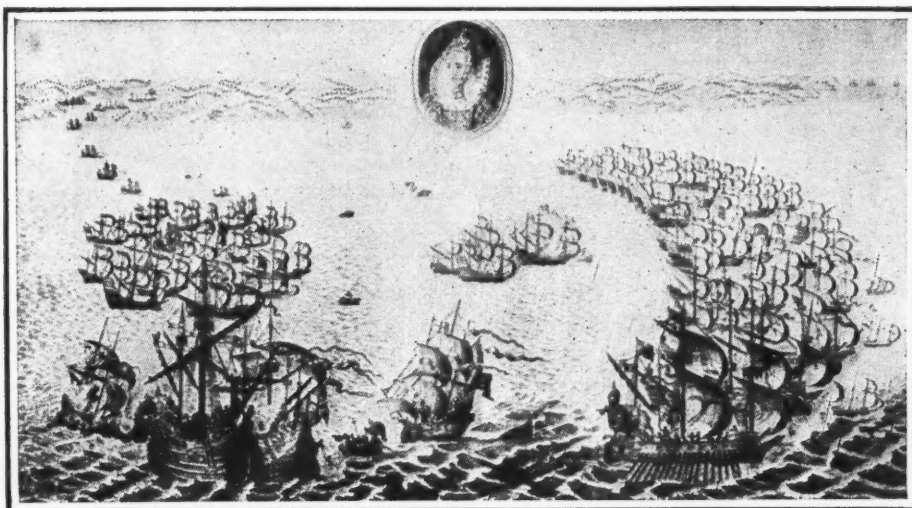
force to future conflict, before the American world hegemony is complete.

The United States, economically the stronger, is potentially the strongest military and naval power. But it has not yet fully translated its economic power into strategic power. This is the path on which it is now entering with the development of a navy powerful enough to confront the British navy, as Germany before, but with less possibility of success, attempted.

Britain, economically the weaker, is the more driven to seek strategic and diplomatic combinations to confront its rival.

BRITISH ANXIETY

So we reach the position reflected in the (to British ears) menacing tones of the Armistice Day speech of President Coolidge or in the declaration of the British Field Marshal Sir William Robertson (at a League of Nations Union



From Some Famous Sea Fights, Century Company

THE BRITISH FLEET AND THE ARMADA

The great victory of the British Navy over the Spanish in 1588

"peace" conference) in December, 1928: "America, influenced by imperialistic tendencies, apparently means, whatever happens, to go on increasing her navy, and her official utterances on the question of armaments not infrequently bear a close resemblance to those claims that we were so accustomed to hearing made by Germany previous to the tragedy of 1914."

Anglo-American relations constitute a complex which cannot be reduced to a single formula or straight line. Alongside the obvious Anglo-American antagonism there has gone forward in recent years a large measure of Anglo-American cooperation in many spheres. Indeed, the expression is often heard in European countries of "Anglo-American finance," "Anglo-Saxon capitalism," and the like, referring to the dominant and closely interlocked rôle of the London and New York bankers in world affairs. Nevertheless, it is possible to disentangle a certain dominant line of development, or stages of development, in Anglo-American relations.

In the period immediately after the war, when, with the short-lived post-war boom, the pace of events was still advancing with breakneck speed, the new Anglo-American antagonism at first

showed signs of ripening with reckless rapidity. Already in 1919 Colonel House could write to President Wilson (on July 30, 1919): "Almost as soon as I arrived in England, I felt an antagonism to the United States. * * * The relations of the two countries are beginning to assume the same character as that of England and Germany before the war." In 1920 followed the sharp Curzon-Colby correspondence over San Remo and Mesopotamian oil. The United States withdrew from Europe. In 1921 Britain laid down four super-Hoods of 45,000 tons.

This headlong advance of the British Lloyd George era could not last. The post-war economic boom in Britain was short-lived. By the Winter of 1920-21 the economic depression began in Britain, which continues unbroken to this day. Britain had to draw in its horns. There followed a period, opening with the Washington Conference in the end of 1921, and extending roughly to the beginning of 1927, when Britain pursued consistently a conciliatory and almost subordinate rôle to the United States.

By the Washington Conference in 1921-22 the United States was able, without a battle, on the basis of its superior economic and building power, to compel the acceptance in principle of naval

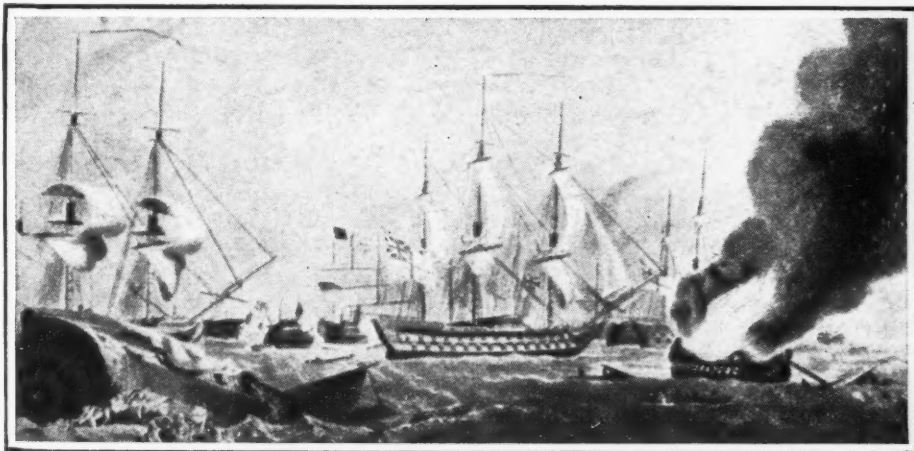
equality, and therefore nominally the surrender of sea power and the abandonment of the prized Anglo-Japanese alliance. A year later followed the expensive debts settlement negotiated by Baldwin ("a nasty corner" was his expression to the interviewers on his return; "the American people think their action extremely generous. The English people don't"). Britain needed American help to counter French aggression and the offensive in the Ruhr. This was finally forthcoming through the Dawes Commission, and in 1924 began the period of uneasy Anglo-American partnership in the settlement and financial penetration of Europe. This partnership was from the first unstable. The withdrawal of the United States from the Opium Conference in 1925, after open conflict with the British delegation, and the Houghton Report on Europe in 1926, illustrated the subcurrent of hostility throughout. But the decisive break did not come till 1927 with the collapse of the Geneva Naval Conference, and a new period of sharpened relations opened. It is with this last period that we are particularly concerned.

INTENSIFIED ECONOMIC RIVALRY

Why did the tension reach the sharp break of the disruption of the Geneva

Conference in 1927 and the prolonged crisis of the past year? The basic answer to this question lies undoubtedly in the intensified economic activity and competition which followed on the previous relatively more peaceful years of world restoration. The economic antagonism of Britain and America is cumulative; with every year it grows sharper.* With every year American goods press British goods harder from their markets; and rationalization and modern mass production intensifies the process. In all the leading directions of trade, in South America, in Canada, in Australia, in Europe, in India and China, the growth of the American percentage of trade and the decline of the British percentage can be traced.

*Many economists will question why there should be any necessary antagonism in the development of peaceful trade, which should be of benefit to all parties, and regard such conceptions as a fallacy of "neo-mercantilism." This is not the place to discuss theory, or the conceptions of nineteenth century free trade on which this school bases its outlook. It is sufficient to say that the plain fact of intense competition, of the fight for markets all over the world, and the fight for raw materials, is evident to every one; and that the old competition of individual manufacturers is replaced in the modern world by the conflict of powerful trusts and combinations acting in close cooperation with their respective States.—Author's note.



From a color aquatint by R. Dodd, in *Some Famous Sea Fights*, Century Company

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

In which the British fleet, under Lord Nelson, defeated Napoleon's French Navy in 1798

This process is still only in its early stages. American exports of manufactures are still only a small proportion of the total production (some 5 to 10 per cent, as against 30 to 40 per cent for Britain); but with the vast increase of productivity and increasing saturation of the home market, this proportion must necessarily rise. In their own expression, American manufacturers "have only begun to scratch the export market." So we reach the position expressed by J. Shatford, chairman of the American Railroad Security Owners Corporation: "I look for the greatest economic war in history to develop and rage within the next few years."—(*Wall Street Magazine*, May 22, 1926).

This conflict is not only a question of the export of goods. It extends also to all the basic raw materials. The battle over oil and rubber, in particular, is a familiar story. The activities of the Empire Cotton Growing Association, with government support, to secure an independent empire supply of raw cotton constitute one of the ruling trends in modern British Empire policy. The war over shipping led even the usually discreet *London Times* to declare angrily (Jan. 20, 1928): "The resources of the whole of the United States are now being employed in an endeavor to crush the enterprise of British owners."

Even more important is the financial conflict, and competition in the export of capital; for with the export of capital goes a large measure of control and domination, both of raw material and of markets. The far greater rate of accumulation in the United States has enabled it to displace Britain as the world's chief exporter of capital. In 1927 the United States export of capital reached \$1,500,000,000 (gross); the British figure was only some \$650,000,000, or less than half. This process is also only beginning. It is only since 1914 that American export of capital has exceeded British. The pressure is becoming intense. In South America, where British capital used to dominate, American capital has reached first place during the past year.

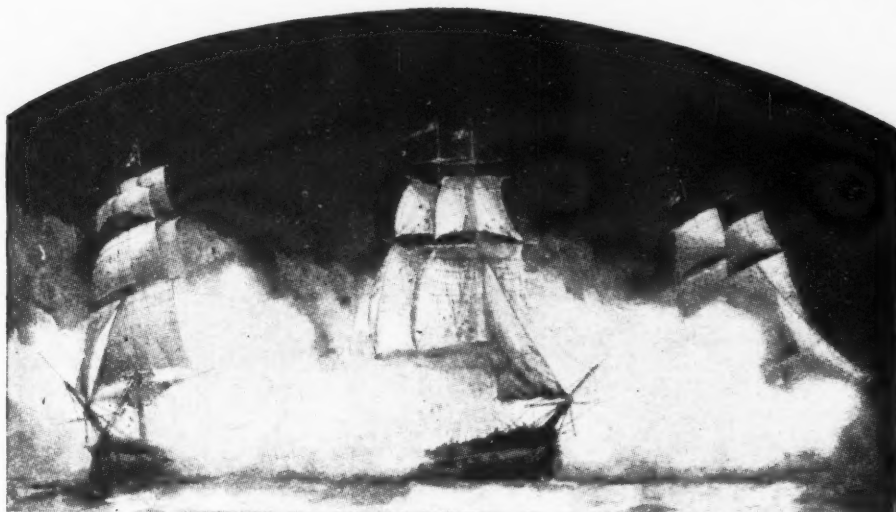
There is a further aspect of the question. American financial and economic

penetration has begun to affect the British Empire, particularly Canada, Australia and (still in its early stages) India. In Canada American economic influence holds the major share. Australia has begun to look to New York as well as London for its capital. The visit of the American Navy to Australia was a significant event. The visit of Secretary Kellogg to Ireland, and omission of London, was keenly noted. British alarm was already notably expressed in a memorable speech of Sir Auckland Geddes (former British Ambassador to the United States) in London, with Lord Balfour in the chair, and Prime Minister Baldwin and others present, in which he spoke of the growing orientation of the dominions to the United States: "Those who look out on the Pacific feel that in Washington there is an instinctive understanding of their difficulties which they have laboriously to explain in Downing Street. * * * It often happens that when our dominions look to us here there is no sympathetic answer, no understanding, and they look to Washington, and Washington is not devoid of eyes and will look back at them." (*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 12, 1924.) In the same way, Frank H. Simonds has declared: "If the United States should adopt a doctrine in the Pacific which was like the Monroe Doctrine and gave our guarantee to the status quo, then the last material basis for the association of Britain and Australia would disappear. * * * Looking at the map, it is clear there is every geographical reason why we may one day become the centre of the English-speaking world."

BRITAIN'S DESPERATE ECONOMIC POSITION

More recently the issue has extended to Britain itself, with the increasing American purchase of British securities and threat of control of British key industries, with the consequent alarm and counter-measures on the British side, as evidenced in the recent crisis over the General Electric Company.

Thus on every side Britain finds itself increasingly pressed and hemmed in by a superior power, and its own economic situation one of increasingly desperate



From History of the Navy, Appleton

THE CONSTITUTION

The American frigate in an engagement with two British men-o'-war off Madeira in 1815, during the war with Great Britain. The Constitution was victorious

decline. It is not surprising that under these conditions Britain begins to look for strategic and diplomatic combinations to confront its rival. This is what has begun to happen since 1927.

Britain, as the economically weaker power, is compelled to look for alliances and combinations to build up a superior strength. There were special circumstances in the beginning of 1927 which initiated this process. On the one hand, the issue in China, where Anglo-American antagonism has been particularly strong, reached an acute point with the sending of the British Expeditionary Force. On the other hand, the British governing class, after the prolonged inner social struggle and unrest of 1921-1926, had at last reached for the time a decisive victory with the defeat of the general strike in 1926, and felt its hands clear and strong enough to proceed to a more aggressive foreign policy. This was shown during the first half of 1927 in the expedition to China, in the Arcos raid and break with the Soviet Union, and in the renewal of the Anglo-French entente on a new basis.

The renewal of the Anglo-French entente took place actually in the Spring of 1927 (the naval agreement of 1928,

which first brought the alignment strongly into view, was only a sequel and further extension), and was conspicuously heralded by the ceremonial visit of President Doumergue and Foreign Minister Briand to London in May, 1927. Up to that point Britain had been working more closely with Italy, and with marked coolness and many points of hostility in relation to France. From that point Britain and France began to work closely together in a number of spheres, in the colonial sphere, in relation to Germany, in relation to the Soviet Union, and finally in relation to America. Subsequent events have made clear that one of the principal driving forces to this new diplomatic course was the growing issue of America in relation to Europe, and consequent closer drawing together of the two principal European powers.

There followed in the Summer of 1927 the Geneva Naval Conference, with the unexpectedly strong stand of Britain against the continuance of the Washington line in relation to cruisers. The antagonism was now laid bare. Two significant developments followed immediately the breakdown of the Geneva Conference. The first was that, as the Brit-

ish White Paper (Cmd. 3211) has now shown, Britain and France proceeded to separate negotiations on the naval issue to reach a common front. The second was that, according to the press, a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Entente was reached at Geneva, following on the breakdown. "Geneva," declared *Le Temps*, "has entirely reversed the situation which was created at Washington in 1922 when Great Britain sacrificed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance for American friendship. A new Anglo-Japanese Entente is an eventuality to be reckoned with." And the Geneva correspondent of the London *Times* declared (July 22, 1927): "The possibility of a revival of the old relations is discussed as a contingency in the event of the conference not ending with the promised success. Should the alliance, which was abandoned at the behest of the United States, be revived, it is realized that it would exercise its influence upon the naval politics of the Pacific for a long time to come."

In this way a new grouping was preparing.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT

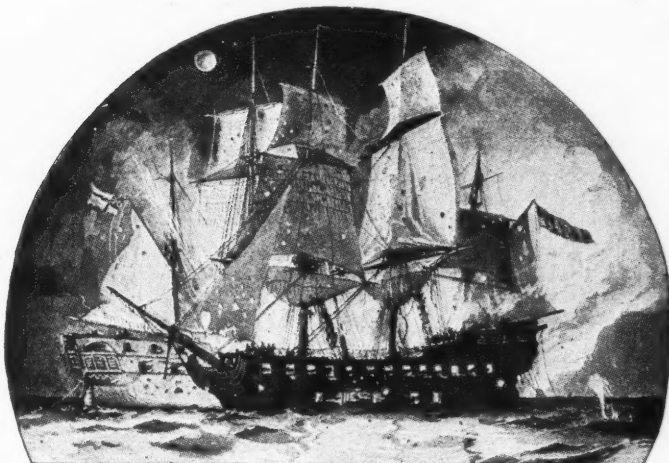
The Anglo-French Naval-Military Agreement of July, 1928, revealed the new alignment to the world. The open character of envisaging future conflict with America, as was indeed frankly admitted in the French Foreign Office dispatch whose partial publication led to the whole disclosure, could not be concealed. The London *Nation* wrote (Oct. 20, 1928): "The whole transaction is unintelligible except on the assumption that America has become the hypothetical 'next enemy.'" M. Leygues, the French Minister of the Marine, announced in a speech in July, 1928, that "Britain has every right to have the greatest navy in the world, equaled by none and surpassing even the fleet of the United States." Italian opinion, according to the Rome correspondent of The London *Times* (Oct. 1, 1928), generally expressed the opinion that the agreement, even if officially killed, marked the "opening of hostilities" be-

tween Britain and America, comparable to that between Britain and Germany before the last war, and "that England has now similarly set out to prepare for war with the United States."

It has been freely stated that the agreement is dead, though the official declarations on the subject are far from clear. More important than the actual agreement, however, is the line of policy that it reveals. That this line of policy continues, there is abundant evidence. The British White Paper itself contains a significant passage in the communication of the French Foreign Office to the British Embassy of July 20, 1928 (No. 18): "Whatever the result, and even should this hope prove illusory, the two governments would none the less be under the urgent obligation to concert (*l'impérieux devoir de se concerter*) either to insure success by other means or to adopt a common policy so as to deal with the difficulties which would inevitably arise from a check to the work of the Preparatory Commission." In the same way, Pertinax declared in *L'Echo de Paris*: "Whether the scheme for the limitation of armaments is adopted or succumbs at Geneva, France and England will continue to collaborate. It is plainly the intention formed on the one side and the other."

At the same time, the renewed Anglo-Japanese Entente (it is open to question whether it was ever more than nominally laid aside) has gone forward. The *Washington Post* (Aug. 25, 1927) went so far as to announce a "secret understanding" as having been reported to the State Department "from trustworthy sources." The recent utterances of statesmen on either side certainly indicate some form of renewed understanding; it was notable that the King's speech to Parliament in November, 1928, went out of its way to affirm that "the historic friendship which for so many years has united Japan and my country has always been a potent factor in the maintenance of peace in the Far East."

If the indications here examined are correct, the perspective opened out is of the most far-reaching character. It means that, on the basis of the indica-



From History of the Navy, Appleton

THE BONHOMME RICHARD

The American frigate which under Captain John Paul Jones harassed the British coast and preyed on British commerce during the American Revolution

tions of 1927-28, after the many shifting and unstable alignments of the post-war period, a basic world alignment appears to be taking shape. Two world blocs appear to be in process of formation. Around the central Anglo-American antagonism the other imperialist antagonisms are beginning to crystallize.

On the one side we have Britain (with its satellites), France (with its satellites) and Japan.

On the other side we have the United States and the countries within the range of its influence. What are these countries? Here it is not so easy yet to speak with precision, as the process is still fluid.

In the first place, the United States holds within its influence the two American continents, although there is strong opposition to this hegemony in Latin America, and Britain still holds considerable spheres of influence. (An analysis of the Bolivia-Paraguay conflict would reveal a reflection of the Anglo-American antagonism, as also in the struggles in Mexico.)

AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN BRITISH DOMINIONS

In the second place, the United States is increasing its influence in relation to

the British dominions. The interchange of separate diplomatic representatives and relations between the United States and the British dominions is one of the important innovations since the war. The position of Canada in the event of war between England and America would, it is generally recognized, be impossible; at the most, Canada could only be neutral; and this, according to the jurists, would be incompatible with continued membership of the British Empire. Leading Australian statesmen have given expression to some very heretical sentiments as to which power might prove the more effective guardian of their interests in the Pacific. Finally, American influence in Southern Ireland is very strong.

In the third place, the United States is visibly developing spheres of influence in Europe. The issue is not, as is sometimes expressed, an issue of America and Europe; for Europe is not a solid bloc. The central issue is an issue of England and the United States; and Europe is divided.

American influence is paramount in modern Germany. A detailed analysis would show the close penetration of American capital into almost every leading German industrial concern. Accord-

ing to the German statistician Dr. R. Kuczynski, writing in the *New York Nation* (Nov. 7, 1928), the total German wealth may be estimated at fifty to sixty billion dollars, and of this foreigners (overwhelmingly American) own thirteen to fifteen billions, or one-quarter. With this economic dependence may be observed a corresponding political orientation, illustrated in Chancellor Mueller's emphatic statement at Geneva last September that "Germany would never agree to a 'united front' against the United States." (*The London Times*, Sept. 17, 1928.)

Italy under Mussolini is also strongly in the American orbit. Its industries are heavily mortgaged to American capital; and with this may be observed the statement of the *Tevere* with reference to the British-French agreement, that in the future Italian foreign policy may lean "rather toward Berlin, Moscow and Angora than toward London and Paris."

It may be observed that both Germany and Italy represent powers lacking, or relatively lacking, colonies for their expansion, and dissatisfied with the Versailles settlement.

It may be further noted that the replies to the British-French naval agreement recorded acceptance from Japan, and rejection from the United States and Italy.

But, it may be asked, what of the Kellogg Pact? What of the League of Nations? Do not these represent new agencies and instruments of peace which make unlikely the repetition of the pre-war type of imperialist antagonisms and their deadly outcome?

For an answer to this question it is only necessary to examine more closely the nature of both. Neither, by their terms, exclude war; on the contrary, both legalize war under given conditions. The Kellogg Pact admits wars of "self-defense" or wars undertaken for some high principle other than as "an instrument of national policy"; and what nation has ever gone to war save in "self-defense" or for the highest international aims? This apart from the copious reservations on both sides of Monroe Doctrines and the like. The League of Nations is

a rigid military alliance, with, by its Article 10 and Article 16, binding military obligations on all its members, which will considerably surprise and embarrass those unwary pacifists who have given it their support, when the time comes.

DIPLOMATIC SCREENS FOR WAR PREPARATIONS

It cannot be too bluntly stated that these instruments represent in cold practice, not instruments for the avoidance of war, but diplomatic screens for the preparation and sanctification of future war.

A further examination will reveal yet more—that these instruments themselves in the last analysis reflect and shadow the Anglo-American antagonism. The League of Nations is essentially a European instrument; it is under complete British-French control; the United States holds aloof. The Kellogg Pact is an American counter to the European League of Nations; and it was received with obvious coldness and ill-concealed hostility on the side of Britain and France, a hostility that was recently illustrated in Chamberlain's indiscretion reported in *The New York World*.

Thus we find, as it were, two rival "peace systems," growing up, like ironic shadows, alongside and behind the two rival imperialistic blocs.

At the present time there is considerable discussion of a sea law conference and the defining of neutral rights and the freedom of the seas in order to remove the central ground of antagonism. It has been shown already that the antagonism is very much wider than this question. But even in this question the antagonism is once again revealed. If there were a proposal of the abolition of all navies and rights of blockade there might be a basis to talk of neutral rights and the freedom of the seas (a limited one even then, so long as the possibility of war remains, since merchantmen can easily be converted into fighting ships). But neither side makes any such proposal. Each side believes in naval power and the rights of blockade—under given conditions. And the question is, under

what conditions? For given conditions imply an international authority; and there is no international authority. The British advocates propose the exercise of naval power under the sanction of the League of Nations (so Brailsford), without realizing that the League of Nations is to the United States suspect. The American advocates propose a distinction between a "private" and a "public" war (so C. P. Howland in his *Survey of American Foreign Policy*); and a "public" war would be a war against a violation of the Kellogg Pact. Once again the basic antagonism is revealed. In general, the fate of the Declaration of London in the last war shows clearly enough how little value may be attached to paper agreements, so long as the basic causes of war remain.

It is not the purpose of the present article to discuss the solution of the situation which has been here depicted. In the opinion of the writer the solution does not lie in any such simple means as

a diplomatic agreement or armaments limitation, because the causes lie deeper. So long as these deeper causes operate, all diplomatic agreements become only juridical formulae through which the experts can pick their holes. The causes lie rooted in the basic world anarchy of economic forces, in the whole social system of Britain and America, in the whole system of private profit-making and competition which leads to imperialism and imperialistic war. If these causes can be basically removed in time, then and then only, war can be averted. Failing that, it may be that war itself may prove the terrible instrument of history to cut the Gordian knot and shatter once and for all a social system based on monopoly, competition and profit-making, which leads to so murderous and ruinous an outcome, and replace it by a system of internationally organized social production. Of these gigantic issues of the future, only events will finally demonstrate whether such a view is justified.

II—Peaceful Rivalry

By P. W. WILSON

FORMER MEMBER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN estimating the value of Mr. Palme Dutt's views it should be remembered that, as a Socialist, he believes that the present basis of society must be changed. Holding that belief, he must be a pessimist and, like John Bunyan, beseech us to flee from the wrath to come. It is his creed.

It so happens that industry, by ridding itself of abuses and producing commodities for the mass of the people, has resulted in an unmistakable advance in leisure and prosperity. Philosophers of Mr. Dutt's persuasion are compelled, therefore, to discover some new calamity for capitalism. In an era when the workers can afford automobiles, the only calamity that can be regarded as plausible is a next war, and it must be a big war. No war except the most unthink-

able war of all will satisfy so deep a despondency over the blessings of peace.

Among Socialists it has been a dogma that wars are caused by capitalists. As nations, Great Britain and the United States are capitalist. Hence, it is argued, they cannot be comrades. Even if war be directly destructive of their interests, several and mutual, each is, as it were, fated to cut off the nose of the other in order to spite his own face.

With a zeal worthy of Zinoviev, therefore, Mr. Dutt ransacks the newspapers for real or alleged antipathies, however trifling, which will support his thesis. If ever a *casus belli* be needed, he is the specialist to whom application should be made. He has them on file. Let us examine one or two of these choice specimens of mutual animosity.

If ever there were Anglo-Americans worthy the name they have been Viscount Cecil, the disciple of Woodrow Wilson, and Bishop Brent, the apostle of reunion. But on one subject they happened to differ. The subject was the illegal cultivation of opium in China and how to stop it. Mr. Dutt includes opium, therefore, among his poison gases.

There was a frontier dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. It was handled, not at Geneva but at Washington. Promptly such regional conciliation, approved by Britain at Geneva itself, and indeed proposed by her, is scheduled as a menace. Even the rebellion in Mexico is attributed to British machinations. Indeed, Mr. Dutt advances the curious theory that the League of Nations and the Kellogg pact, both aiming at peace, will result, by a paradox, in fomenting the opposite. The war between the New World and the Old is to be a war of inverted pacifism. The answer is, of course, that if Great Britain is in the League and the United States is out of it the reason is the same. Each country thinks that it is reducing the risk of war, at least to itself.

Actually, the Salvation Army is scheduled as a peril and really one is amazed that Mr. Dutt, so zealous a student of hatreds, did not recollect the most damning evidences of all. I need not say that I refer to Major Segrave's record with the automobile, to recent Anglo-American polo on Long Island, and, last but not least, to the Tong wars in Chinatown.

To all this I would reply, in the words of Ambassador Alanson B. Houghton, that "the world has become astonishingly safe for loose talk. It is one of the luxuries of security." As with loose talk, so with lapses from diplomacy. The Vestris, the I'm Alone, rivalry around the South Pole, rubber—both nations can afford incidents because incidents do not mean issues.

It happens to be just ten years since I came to the United States. During these years I have been interested, as are we all, in Anglo-American relations. Keeping in contact with Great Britain herself, I have also visited hundreds of cities and towns both in this country and

in Canada, and have taken part in many public and private discussions.

Ten years ago there certainly was anti-British agitation in this country. It was due to special reasons: Ireland, the Anglo-Japanese alliance and a very natural German susceptibility. Of British oppression in India and Egypt we heard not a little.

All that has died down. Ireland is a Free State and President Cosgrave, in knee breeches, has been a guest at Buckingham Palace. King George and Queen Mary, moreover, have been received in audience by the Pope. The Anglo-Japanese alliance has been superseded by the Four Power Treaty, which includes the United States and France. The attitude of Great Britain toward Germany since the war has greatly relieved Teutonic susceptibilities on both sides of the ocean.

BRITISH INFLUENCES IN AMERICA

Two other influences deserve mention. The British payment of the debt has been an answerable evidence of good faith. Moreover, the controversial tone of school books is less disturbing. It is not merely that history and biography are, to use a common expression, under a process of "debunking." More significant is the fact that, as a result of the World War and rapid immigration, the United States has emerged from the eighteenth into the twentieth century. Yorktown is at least as remote as Waterloo. There is, indeed, a definite cultivation in the United States of British literature, politics and tradition.

The question and the only question is whether, with the abatement of grudges cherished in the United States, there have arisen new grudges cherished in Great Britain. To the strain and stress alleged by Mr. Dutt what importance, if any, should be attached?

I have no more confidence than Mr. Dutt in fair words that smooth over a real situation. I will put the case, then, in terms at least as candid as any employed elsewhere.

Knowing nothing of the Constitution of the United States and in particular of two-thirds majorities in the Senate, and assuming that, in proposing the

League of Nations President Wilson spoke for his nation, there was astonishment in Great Britain when this country failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, or even to enter the World Court. It was a blow to Liberalism on the other side and a gift to the cynics. While paying her own debt, Great Britain was also disappointed because no general adjustment of European liabilities was possible.

In making plain the British sentiment I am not criticizing the decisions of the United States. I am merely indicating certain of their results.

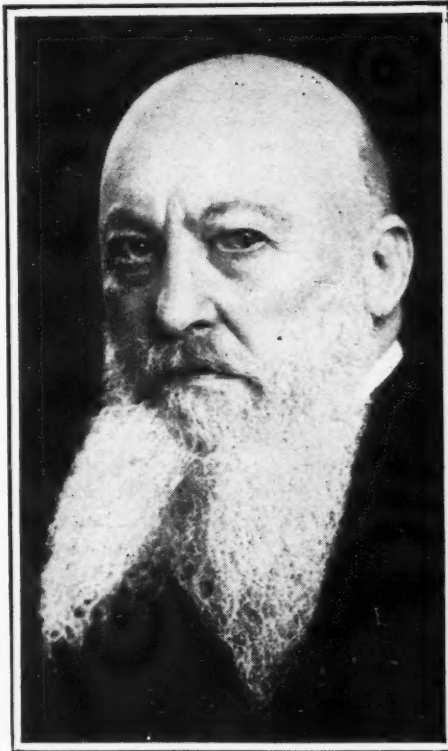
This British feeling is exploited by two factions. First, there is the old aristocrat, clinging to his titles and never reconciled to the Baptists, the Methodists, the Roman Catholics and the Jews, who contribute so largely to the citizenship of the United States. Secondly, there is the liquor trade, with 100,000 public houses, mobilized against any country where the policy is restrictive of alcohol. Obviously, neither faction is thinking of war. The aristocrats merely want their privileges. The brewers merely want their beer.

If the press in Great Britain had been in a normal condition these influences would have been counteracted with more emphasis. But a wild gamble in newspapers has been proceeding and the United States has been presented as a sensation. Crime, divorce and political abuses are cabled. Less interest is taken in the constructive progress of churches, colleges, Y. M. C. A.'s and industrial welfare.

But I need not pursue these occasions—obviously incidental—of argument. For Mr. Dutt's case, as I gather, is that, apart from temporary details of irritation, the United States and Great Britain are confronted by a fundamental collision of destiny. If there had been no League, no prohibition, no debt, no Senate, they would have been bound still to come into conflict.

Why? Because there was war between Britain and Germany, and a precedent is a precedent. Mr. Dutt can see no distinction between the cases.

What was Germany? A highly organized military despotism, with an elabo-



Herbert

GRAND ADMIRAL ALFRED VON TIRPITZ

A new portrait of the creator of Germany's pre-war navy

rate conscript system, a censored press, a hereditary feudalism and, be it not forgotten, a frontier everywhere held by similar if less efficient armies of other powers.

But Great Britain and the United States—what are they? In effect both are republics. Neither maintains more than a police force. In neither is there an autocratic feudalism. Both allow a full political freedom of the press and platform. The very liberty of discussion between them is a safeguard that liberty will never go beyond discussion.

AMERICA'S POST-WAR POLICY

Between pre-war Germany and post-war America there is a further difference. In the United States we see today an eager and on the whole an intelligent study of the British Empire as a world-

wide institution. No American, no Englishman thinks that this astonishing structure is ideal. The question is what, if anything, could take its place. Germany looked with complacency on the prophesied break-up of British sovereignty. The United States, with a deeper sense of responsibility, has no such intention of throwing vast continents into chaos. The problem of India, of the Middle East, of Africa is reviewed in the light of conditions in the Philippines and China. Over Palestine, moreover, there is, if not entire agreement, at least an understanding cooperation between the Jewish community and the British mandatory power.

Of Mr. Dutt's misgivings, little now remains, I submit, except the question of economic rivalry. Here it is not enough to talk about raw materials and markets. One needs to be logical as well as phraseological.

That the United States has proceeded to an economic predominance is true. But, for a generation, this development has been foreseen. Of British imperialism there was no more challenging champion than Cecil Rhodes. He added a sub-continent to the British Empire. But Cecil Rhodes declared as his dying faith that the commercial and geographical cornerstone of the English-speaking world must be the Continent of North America. That Great Britain has now to face this fact may be a momentous epoch in her long and magnificent history. But the idea that she will meet the situation by hostile action is fantastic.

What is Mr. Dutt's thesis? He suggests that Great Britain, France and Japan will form an alliance against the United States. At a mere hint of such a policy Great Britain would lose every one of her dominions, and so violently would her prestige be shaken that she would be hard put to it to retain her position in Equatorial Africa and Asia. Such an attempted balance of power would be the end of the British Empire.

But, says Mr. Dutt, on the authority of *Le Temps* of Paris, it is happening. The answer is that, whatever may have been the Anglo-French conversations,

they have brought British foreign policy, for the first time in thirty years or more, within the range of acute controversy between parties. Liberalism and Labor in Great Britain are outspoken in their attacks on what they consider to be the failure of the Conservative Government to come to terms with the United States over the navy, the freedom of the seas and the entire future of mankind.

The industrial rise of the United States is indeed stupendous. But when Mr. Dutt interprets this as a threat to Great Britain he is like the Bourbons who learn nothing and forget nothing. If ever Adam Smith were justified it has been by this late war. We have seen, not only that the wealth of one nation is the wealth of all nations, but that the poverty of one nation makes all nations poor. It is essential to the standard of life in the United States that there should be a higher standard of life throughout the world.

It is not the United States that has been responsible for British unemployment or the reduction of the British margin of commerce available for investment abroad. These things are due to a disturbed China, a Bolshevik Russia, a crushed Germany—that is, to depreciation of foreign markets. As a matter of fact, the reconstruction of these markets, due in no small measure to assistance from the United States, has been followed by a higher margin of commerce in Britain than in any year since 1922.

The investment of money abroad, whether by the United States or by Great Britain, does not promote war but peace. Neither nation will be in a hurry to bombard its own property. The more widely distributed such investments, the more eagerly interchanged, the less likely is the disturbance of credit. Mr. Dutt talks about the United States owning Germany and Canada, yet he does not see that this point destroys his argument, based on mere nationalism.

The Anglo-American competition foretold by Mr. Dutt, if it comes, will be followed, like all such competition, by mutual arrangements. The magnates

who manage these matters are not philanthropists. They see no sense in impoverishing one another merely in order that the general public may have commodities under cost price.

The governments of the United States and Great Britain do not always hit it off. But if those governments suppose, or were ever to suppose, that the English-speaking world, with nearly 600,000,000 people, is going to be shattered over blunders, whether in London or Wash-

ington, they will find out their mistake. Indeed, to give the governments their due, they know well that the task before them is a common task and that in any grave emergency their responsibilities will be identical. It may be suggested, however, that the time is approaching when the childish pretense of trying each to "high hat" the other fellow should be abandoned by both administrations. If there is cordiality, who is going to suffer or complain?

III—An American Plea for Understanding

By ALANSON B. HOUGHTON*

FORMER UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

THERE are two sides to every question, and the obvious fact is emphasized most abundantly, I have come to believe, where questions of national interests are considered. If these conflicting interests are to be fairly and justly reconciled, there must be an effort to understand the other's point of view and a willingness, where justice and common sense demand it, to modify one's own. That willingness, that effort, I have always found. And it has confirmed me in the belief in which I came, that no serious misunderstanding can long divide our peoples if approached in that spirit which is the spirit both of Britain and of America, the spirit of fair play.

As I recall the events of the past few years I am impressed anew by the fact that, taken together, they represent a steady advance in the direction of a more permanent peace. After all, there are, as General Smuts said, only two ways in the world—the way of force and the way of understanding. Within the comparatively brief span of my own stay in Europe I have seen several momentous

steps taken on the road to understanding, culminating in the signing of the Briand-Kellogg pact. This pact, I believe, is the embodiment of a deep-lying movement among the peoples.

There are, of course, aggressive pessimists who claim it to be a mere platitudinous expression of good-will which, in the face of actual events, must prove of no effect. I think they underrate and undervalue its significance. I believe with the British Prime Minister that the pact is an opportunity for a fresh start. I believe it records a definite change of attitude and outlook and marks the opening of a new era. In that sense we in America signed the pact with every intention of keeping our plighted word. I am sure that the other signatories are equally sincere. We have all condemned recourse to war for solution of international controversies, and renounced it as an instrument of national policy in our relations with one another. The opinion, the conscience, of the massed signatories of the pact is now mobilized against its violation or threat of violation. Henceforth the nation who turns to the way of war and breaks that solemn trust will obviously do so at its peril.

When I turn more particularly to Anglo-American relations, I am made conscious that these are the days of open

*The substance of the farewell speech which Mr. Houghton delivered as United States Ambassador to Great Britain at the dinner given in his honor by the Pilgrims in London on March 26, 1929.

diplomacy. We are all diplomats and we are all interested, and a common language serves to make discussion between us easy and general. I do not regret this. On the contrary, I think such discussion is of the highest possible value. Washing linen in public may not be an edifying spectacle, but at least it has the merit of leaving nothing hidden to be washed later, perhaps, in blood. And as I have watched the recurrent ebb and flow of this discussion, two thoughts have come to me.

What strikes me first of all is that many good and sincere people in both countries are inclined to regard and to discuss international affairs in much the same way that they regard and discuss their personal affairs. And the practice leads, I am afraid, to bewilderment, and sometimes to a certain sharpness of temper. These people assume that international friendships are merely personal friendships on a grand scale. And that is not true. As individuals we choose our friends. We choose them because we like them and because we find in them understanding and sympathy and inspiration, and it may be even a similarity of interests. Very often we prefer not to have business relations with them. And if, for one reason or another, our friendship wanes, we turn from it and each of us goes his separate way.

But that is not at all what happens between nations. As nations we do not choose our friends. All are assumed to be our friends, by which we mean, I suppose, that we deal with one another freely. But since no two nations have identical interests, the relations between them give rise continually to differences of one sort and another, which continually require adjustment. Even so, those nations continue to encounter one another, to trade with one another, to profit from one another, and because they are in fact mutually and increasingly dependent on one another their differences ultimately find adjustment. The fact that differences between them exist merely shows that they are not alike and that they are holding friendly intercourse.

What I want to emphasize is that we

must expect these differences. That is the normal condition of international life. It is nothing to exaggerate. Above all, it is nothing to deplore. To assume, for instance, because the British and American peoples speak the same mother tongue, possess some of the same laws and institutions, read much the same literature, think many of the same thoughts, that friendship between them, as between two individuals, renders differences between them an offense against good taste and violation of the code of friendly decencies is simply to misunderstand the situation. I suggest that it puts a certain strain on the adjustment of these difficulties if people on both sides of the Atlantic tend to reason that such differences ought not to be and that their existence is somehow abnormal and provocative.

NATURAL DIFFERENCES

Such differences are wholly natural. They merely show that we are alive and about our business. If any one is anxious about Anglo-American relations because there are unsolved problems between the two peoples, I have no words to comfort him. There will never be a time when such problems do not exist. If he is alarmed with the loose talk he hears about the danger incident to such problems, I can only say to him that the world has become astonishingly safe for loose talk. It is one of the luxuries of security.

That is one comment which has occurred to me. Another is that we are perhaps inclined to be too contented with our own knowledge of our own good-will. We Americans have a strong and vivid sense that we do not want to quarrel with any one—that, on the contrary, we wish to live in peace with all the world; and, conscious of our own integrity of purpose, coveting neither the lands nor the possessions of others, we believe that peace would even now be permanently established on earth if other peoples felt the same way. The fact always interests me and “intrigues” me vastly, for, so far as I have been able to discover, every civilized people does feel the same way. You in Britain have, I know, the same

sense of your own good-will and you are equally conscious of the sincerity of your own desire for peace. So it is wherever one looks. I doubt if ever before the nations were quite so conscious of their good-will." That is certainly cause for gratification. I am, I hope, sufficiently grateful for it.

But, unhappily, good-will alone is not the only factor needed for bringing about the peace of the world. The nations may all of them be fitted with good-will, but, nevertheless, still bristle more or less with armaments. Wherefore, it follows, I think, that at some point, if the growth of armaments is to be reversed and the swords are to be turned into ploughshares, there must be acceptance of the good-will of others. We already have some of that belief. I know of no magic formula by which it can be created. But I do believe that a little more acceptance of the good-will of others and a little less of that distrust and suspicion which expresses itself in the form of armaments, will be found justified in fact and will increase rather than decrease our security.

In particular, as between Britain and America, I confess frankly I see only one reason for distrust. And that is the existence of two mental hobgoblins. One of these hobgoblins appears from time to time in America to assure us that Britain is a predatory power, cynically careless of right and wrong, indifferent to the interests of others, greedy, cun-

ning, and waiting only for a favorable opportunity to strike us down. The other appears from time to time in Britain to assure you that as America becomes more conscious of her strength she will inevitably become imperialistic and, ruthlessly and brutally seeking to exploit others, will use that strength merely to play the bully and become a danger and a menace to the peoples of the world. If these two hobgoblins speak the truth, the future is dark indeed. If the British people and the American people are fairly represented in their character and aspirations by what these two hobgoblins tell us, then serious trouble must be expected and we would both do well to prepare again for the hell of war.

But these two hobgoblins do not speak the truth. There are no such peoples as those described. The description is false. The real peoples are wholly different. They are made up of millions of kindly, decent, hard-working, God-fearing men and women who possess innate common sense, who are busy about their own affairs, who do not fear one another, who want to live in peace and who mean, God willing, to do so. Is it not about time that we recognize that fact fully and consciously, and turn definitely away from such fantastic views of our true relations to each other? A durable and unbreakable peace exists even now between the British and American peoples if they will but recognize the fact.

Permanent Guiding Principles of French Foreign Policy

By RENE PINON

PROFESSOR AT THE SCHOOL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PARIS

IN certain countries the press, or speakers in Parliament, almost daily picture France as the type and symbol of the "militaristic" and "imperialistic" nation. Two recent events, of very different nature, will serve to show the injustice and mistakenness of these charges. The first of these events is this: that the French Parliament, and French public opinion also have ratified the Briand-Kellogg treaty, the credit for initiating which belongs to the French Foreign Minister. The second event is the publication in Holland of the most fraudulent document ever concocted, clearly revealing the deep and inveterate hatred of certain countries for France and Belgium. To understand the causes of this, one must trace back the course of history through a number of centuries, for the life of France, since its beginnings, has been directed by certain permanent necessities.

The great historic peoples of Europe, who, like the French, have left a glorious record on the pages of history down through the centuries, have naturally had differences or quarrels with neighboring peoples, resulting in wars which have left behind them distrusts, jealousies and hatreds. Most of the great nations of Europe today live with this burden of ill-feeling weighing them down.

It is very difficult for a citizen of the United States, born in America, to realize the iron law of necessity which controls the policy of European nations, and of France pre-eminently. Over an equal area, the population of Europe (Russia excepted), is three or four times denser

than that of the United States. The Christian nations have been for centuries crowded into that narrow peninsula of Asia called Europe, which ends in the wide Baltic-Black Sea isthmus. Here there is no corner of the earth which is not cultivated, inhabited and exploited, and which has not been disputed over in the course of numerous wars. Americans have room; Europeans live crowded together in their old house. The United States has no continental neighbor by whom an invasion would be imaginable. Canada is inhabited by people of the same blood and the same civilization, who have by no means exploited all their territorial domain and who could never become a menace to their neighbors. In the South, the United States borders on Mexico, whose political upheavals may be annoying, but are never dangerous.

It is thus somewhat difficult for an American to understand the quarrels of Europe, and he is prone to censure the belligerent spirit of the peoples who inhabit the countries of the Old World. And yet these struggles are an effect of the geographical configuration of Europe, of the divergent interests of its peoples, of the rivalries and rancors produced among them through a long chain of historical developments. Americans can fear only inner upheavals, as, for example, what Mr. Lothrop Stoddard calls "The Rising Tide of Color"; Europeans have to be ceaselessly vigilant on their frontiers. A gulf, a port, a river, or a mountain road may become causes for wars which may last for centuries. Where space is lacking, the smallest bit

of land has its value, and this value is enhanced by the historical or cultural memories attached to it.

France, in particular, because of her geographical position, has always been obliged to defend against her neighbors the privileged share of territory she occupies. Already before the Romans the Gauls defended their country against the invasions of the Teutons; thus they called in Julius Caesar and his legions to defend them against Ariovistus. Since then, from century to century, it has been the same. Historians have exulted over the advantages of the geographical situation of France; they have eulogized the natural frontiers of ancient Gaul (the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees); the variety of its climates, some of which are extreme; the fertility of its soil; the grace and majesty of its landscapes: in a word, its perfect adaptation to the life of man.

But these very advantages expose the French to the cupidity of those masses of people who dwell in the great plains of Northern and Eastern Europe and the

vast steppes of Asia. These peoples are drawn instinctively toward the sunny banks of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast, warmed by the Gulf Stream. But hindered by the high peaks of the Alps, these Northern men did not go toward the south, but toward the west. In the plains of the north they moved ahead unobstructed, approached the Rhine, passed beyond it and soon arrived in France. Thus it was the peoples dwelling in France, and not the Germans, who were obliged to set up a guard to watch the Rhine, for the French, if they felt secure at home, would have no interest in attacking their neighbors on the east; their offensive, whenever such occurred, was never more than a form of reprisal; what good would an invasion of Berlin or Munich do them?

THE RHINE FRANCE'S DEFENSE LINE

The fascinating charm which the Rhine holds for the French and that which it holds for the Germans is thus of a different nature. To the Germans the Rhine is the great ditch which must

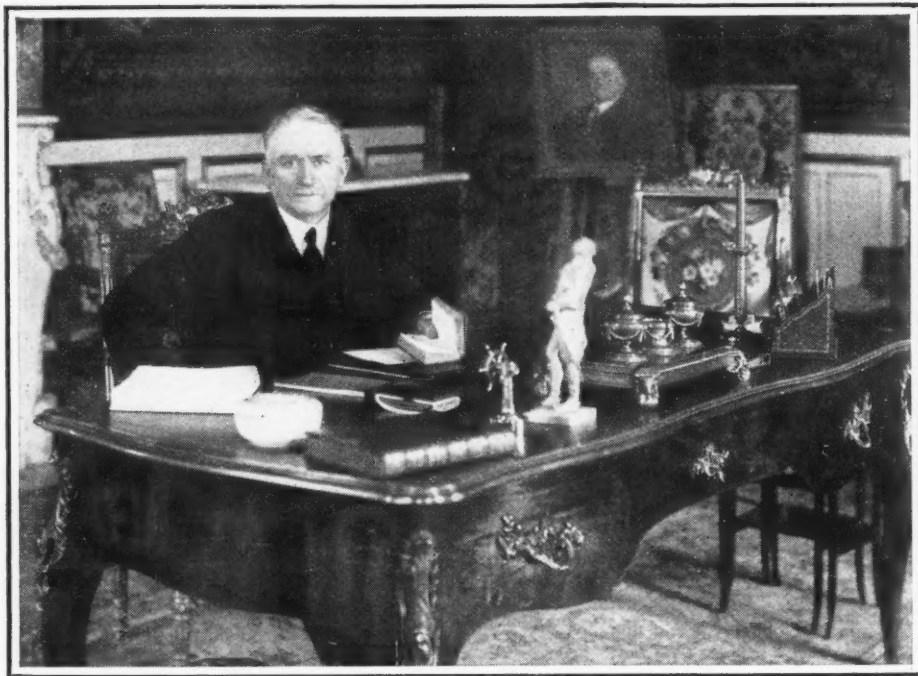
be crossed when one comes from the northeast, before entering the favored lands where the grape and orange ripen in the sun. To the French, it is the line of defense which protects, against the greed of foreign peoples, the domain where they desire only to live and work in peace and security. Woodrow Wilson was therefore right when he called the Rhine "the frontier of liberty."

The United States was almost wholly peopled by men who came by sea and who landed on her coasts. The European population, on the contrary, has always



MAP OF FRANCE

Showing the boundaries which the French have had to defend throughout their history



P. & A.

GASTON DOUMERGUE
President of the French Republic

been increased by peoples who came from Eastern Europe and Asia. Conceive what the situation of the American Colonies on the Atlantic would have been if numerous and well-armed peoples had been living in the plains of the Middle West, and if they had constantly striven to push on to the ocean ports! This explains why the presence of France on the Rhine is one of the essential conditions of stability and peace in Europe.

On the side of the Alps and the Pyrenees France was less threatened. She made war on the Pyrenees only when a formidable power ruled in Spain and the Netherlands, in Burgundy and Germany. In Italy she had to deal not with an organized nation conscious of its unity, but with a nexus of small States, republics and monarchies. The balance of influences in the Italian peninsula seemed necessary to the material and spiritual independence of the Holy See; France intervened in Italy to preserve that balance and to save the independence of the head of the Catholic Church and of

Rome, the symbol and seat of unity. She came into conflict with the same Hispanic-German power which she found on the Rhine, in the Netherlands, in Spain, and which, until 1715, had threatened her security.

The sea frontiers of France are for her an invitation to travel, to expansion and commerce. The Mediterranean called her to the East, to Jerusalem, Constantinople, Egypt and directly south to those "barbaric" coasts of Algiers, Tunis and Morocco whose piratical peoples were for centuries the terror of Christianity, the scourge of commerce, and whom, from 1830 on, she forced to enter the civilized life of Europe. The ocean early attracted the adventurous spirit of the sailors of Dieppe and St. Malo. In the eighteenth century the French were among the discoverers of America and largely contributed to the establishment there of the first civilized communities. "The French in the Heart of America," as Dr. John H. Finley expressed it in the title of his recent book, is one of the finest

chapters of our history. France, preceded by Brittany, advanced over the waves of the ocean to meet the New World. Today when one arrives from America, by boat or airplane, France is the first land of the European Continent that one perceives, and she seems to open hospitably wide to the people, the ideas and the things of the New World—a land of liaison, commingling and fusion.

But the conditions of French expansion have always been difficult, much more difficult than those of British expansion, because France, when she ventures afar over seas is often recalled to the urgent duty of defending her frontiers. Every time she is subjected to pressure on the Continent she must lighten her ship of state by sacrificing her far-flung possessions and her hopes of expansion. The times when she ran the greatest dangers were those when the sovereign mistress of the seas (Great Britain, from the seventeenth century on) was allied to the strongest power on the Continent. So in the nineteenth century, from Waterloo to Sedan, Great

Britain was almost always in alliance with Prussian military power.

FRANCO-BRITISH CLASH OVER ANTWERP

But why did Great Britain, even long after France had ceased disputing her empire of the seas (1815) always seek to put obstacles in the way of French policy? Because of Antwerp and the Flemish coast of the North Sea. The ideas that controlled British policy were few, but they were firmly based. Great Britain still remembers that one day in the eleventh century Normans and Picards crossed the English Channel with William of Normandy and conquered the Saxon kingdoms. She has not yet forgiven Philip II of Spain for the "invincible Armada," and she still trembles at the memory of the ships assembled by Napoleon, from Dunkirk to Cherbourg, to invade her island. It is an axiom of British policy that the coast between Boulogne and Antwerp must not belong to one sole strong power. If there are two owners, they must be opposed to one another.

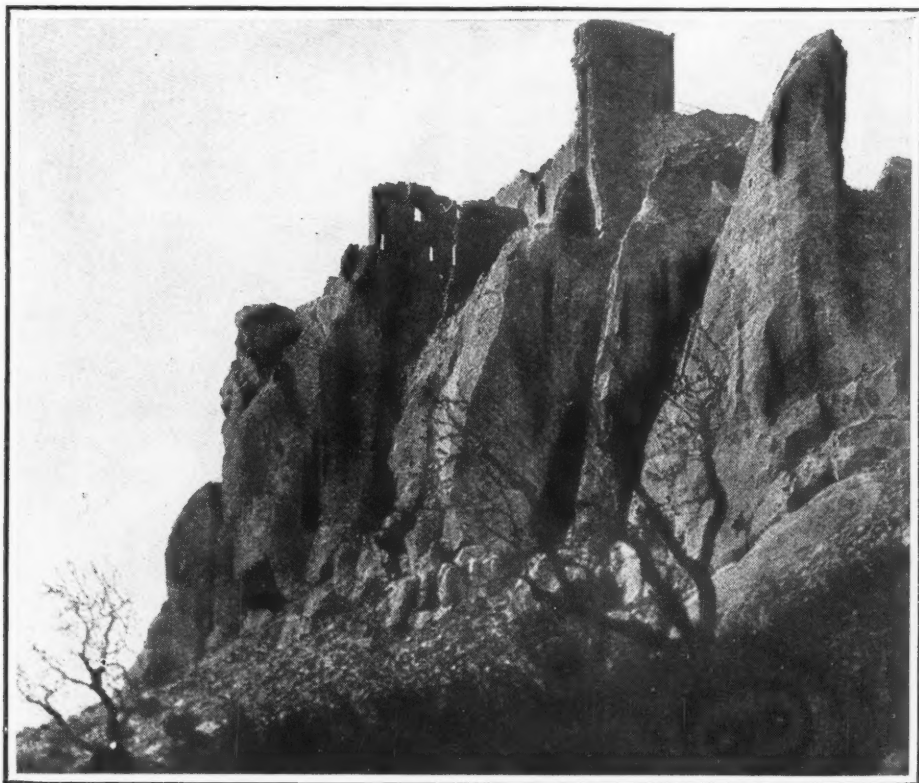


THE DUCAL PALACE AT NANCY

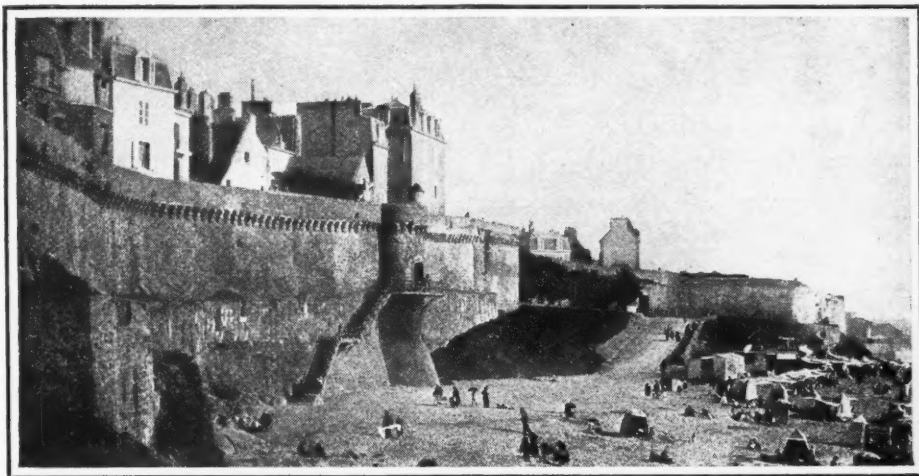
This explains why France, whenever she wished to advance toward Antwerp or Cologne, in order to obtain what she considered to be her natural and historic frontier, has been brought face to face with the policy of London. It should not be forgotten that it was not until 1830 that the will of Europe, in the interests of peace, created a Belgian State. Until then, from the time of Philip the Fair, in the fourteenth century, the multiple kingdoms, towns, earldoms and bishoprics which ruled over the country which is now Belgium, were dependent on great powers hostile to France, viz.: Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Austria. In 1815 Europe's distrust of France brought about the union into a single kingdom of the Dutch and the Belgians, whom longstanding hatreds had separated, in order to check the ambitions which Europe feared to see reborn in France. It was

only in 1830 that Belgium separated again from Holland with the help of France, and Belgian neutrality was established by Europe as a precaution against a French invasion. In 1914 Germany did not hesitate to violate the pledges taken by Prussia, but once again, as so often in the past, Great Britain made war because of Antwerp.

Thus the natural advantages of the geographic position of France have brought about great complications, and stirred up against her jealousies and envies. The French nation has therefore had to ask of those charged with the guidance of her destinies more care and vision than other nations have required from their statesmen—a moderate, delicately adjusted, prudent and, at the same time, energetic policy. Great Britain owes, or has owed for a long time, to her insular position the privilege of not paying for her blunders, for as soon



Les Baux, an old fortress in the French Pyrenees



The walls of the old fort and fishing village at St. Malo, on the Brittany coast

as she perceives that she has made a mistake she retreats behind the "silver belt" of the seas: she may suffer in her interests, but she does not suffer physically. But whenever France commits an error, she has always had to pay dearly for it. In general, her policy has sought and desired only adequate expansion, national unity, liberty to work and security. But because of her situation it is more difficult for her to realize her national policy than for other peoples.

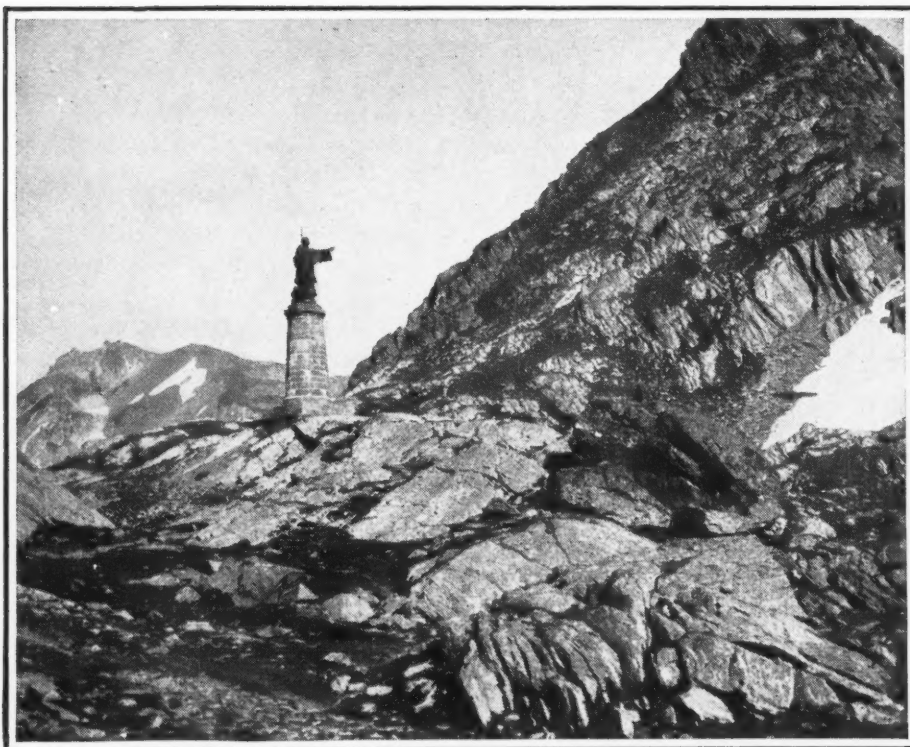
FRENCH POLICY TO PREVENT HEGEMONY

If we wished to find a collective definition of French policy since the end of the Middle Ages, we might say that French royalty has always struggled to prevent the establishment of the hegemony of a single power in Europe. The Middle Ages had tried to realize the conception—a very admirable one—of Christianity united under two heads: the Pope and the Emperor, the spiritual and the temporal power, or, as the idea is expressed in the famous verse of Victor Hugo, "Those two halves of God: the Pope and Emperor."

But human powers by their very nature are transitory, and hence their decisions have little permanent value. The Middle Ages were filled with the struggles of the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire to obtain predominance. The

Empire, since Otto the Great, had its seat in Germany, and sought to dominate Germany and Italy, and to extend its rule over all the other Christian sovereigns. Under the guise of the Empire, the real object pursued was to establish the domination of the Germanic race. The kings of France never approved these claims and resolved to escape from the supremacy of the Empire. "The King of France," said the legal experts of Philip the Fair, "is Emperor in his own domain": that is, he recognized no other sovereign, and enjoyed complete independence. The early formation of the French nation, the spirit of independence which drew it closely and compactly around the Capetian king, gave it a more effective power than that possessed even by the Emperor.

Scarcely had the French monarchy emerged victorious from the great Hundred Years' War with Great Britain than it was again faced with deadly danger. The Dukes of Burgundy, a branch of the royal house of France, under favor of the war against the British, organized a badly formed State, but one that was rich and powerful because it contained the industrial cities of Flanders, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Courtrai and so forth, the weaving and cloth districts which developed the wealthy middle class of the trades, representing, with the



Ewing Galloway

St. Bernard Pass, where Napoleon crossed the Alps in 1800

Italian republics, the capitalistic power of the time. Through the marriage of the only daughter of Charles the Bold with Maximilian, Emperor and sovereign over the hereditary States of Austria, there was formed a power which penetrated to the very heart of France and which became formidable when, through a series of marriages, all the chief crowns of Christianity were united on the head of Charles of Spain, who became the Emperor Charles V, and who furthermore was master of the gold of the New World.

TERRITORIAL WARS OF 16TH CENTURY

For two centuries, from Francis I to the Peace of Utrecht of 1713, the French monarchy fought to break the vise which crushed it and to tear away, bit by bit, the French lands from the great monarchy which aspired to universal domination. French opinion considered as French lands all those territories which

had formed a part of ancient Gaul, that is the territories that lay between the ocean and the Rhine, the Jura, the Alps. The division of the heritage of Louis the Pious, in 843 (the Verdun Treaty) had created an extended zone from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, which was neither German, nor French, the historic personality of which was already clearly outlined. For the possession of this zone, notably the Walloon and Flemish countries and the left bank of the Rhine, battles were fought continuously for centuries.

When France claimed her lands, her first object was to dislodge the Spanish or Austrian power which threatened her on every side; hence she was defending her own independence and the equilibrium of Europe. The French were not a predatory people who invaded their neighbors' territories; they were an energetic and military people who worked industriously to recover what the vicissi-

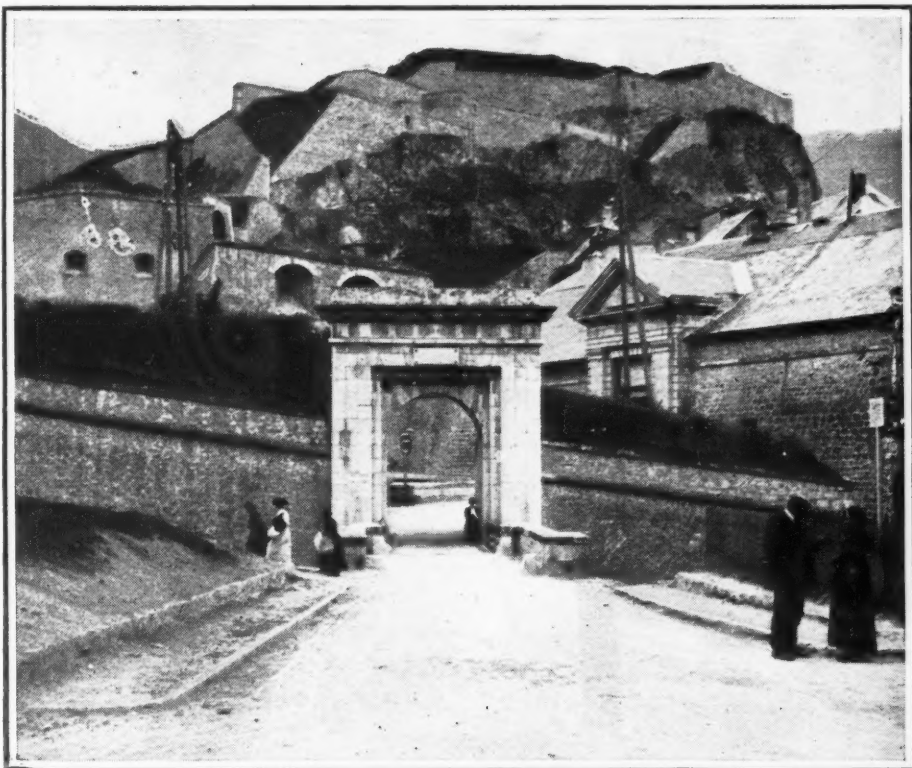
tudes of politics and marriages had torn from them and to secure a safe and stable frontier.

Louis XIV has been depicted as a conquering and insatiable monarch. In reality, when we study the series of wars he waged, we perceive that their sole object was the rounding out of the kingdom, of which cities as thoroughly French as Besançon, Belfort, Nancy, Lille, did not at that time constitute a part. It was the religious hatreds stirred up by William of Orange which inflamed public opinion against Louis XIV. He made mistakes, such as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but he never sought universal empire. The origin of this legend was that the reign of Louis XIV was also the period of the most glorious luster of French civilization in all its aspects. That civilization imposed itself on all Europe; every little German court modeled itself upon Versailles,

every man of culture spoke French. The unfolding of French genius was a source of progress and benefit to all humanity.

18TH CENTURY STRUGGLES WITH BRITAIN

The eighteenth century, from the French Revolution of 1789 on, was a century of struggle for France against the naval and colonial supremacy of Great Britain. This struggle was carried on in Europe, where British diplomacy egged on the continental adversaries of France, and it was also extended to the seas and the colonies. France did not possess sufficient resources to defend her land frontiers and, at the same time, to save her colonies. The Seven Years' War, mismanaged by Louis XV, led to the loss of the French settlements in North America. But Louis XVI and his great Minister, Vergennes, went to the aid of the rebellious British Colonies, and, by helping the



Ewing Galloway

Briançon, a fortress town on the Mont-Genèvre route, between France and Italy

emancipation of the United States, created a powerful counterbalance to the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

The wars of the Revolution and the Empire were also, despite appearances and legends, wars of equilibrium, or the balance of power. The eighteenth century, which was in politics the century most completely destitute of idealism that had ever been seen, showed a relative honesty by adopting a kind of equitable distribution of the spoils. The world had never before witnessed a crime comparable to the three partitions of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria. But the belief arose that France, which had had no part in this assassination of a nation, was entitled also to a corresponding increase of her territory. Austria, which held the Catholic Netherlands (present-day Belgium) and which attached little importance to their retention, would, after her defeats by the French armies, have agreed to the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine by France. This combination might have succeeded if Great Britain had not opposed it. But Great Britain, as I have pointed out, has always made war over Antwerp. She declared war, therefore, and drew all the States of the Continent, one after another, into the quarrel. Napoleon liked war because he was a master in the art of waging it, but he also liked peace because it gave him an opportunity to bring into play the gigantic capacities of his constructive genius. At the time of the Peace of Amiens fate held the ultimate issue in suspense. But Great Britain renewed hostilities, and Napoleon was forced to vanquish all the nations of Europe; he could not vitally injure Great Britain without becoming the master of the Continent. He failed in his superhuman task because he could never assure himself of that sea power, the decisive importance of which Admiral Mahan has shown.

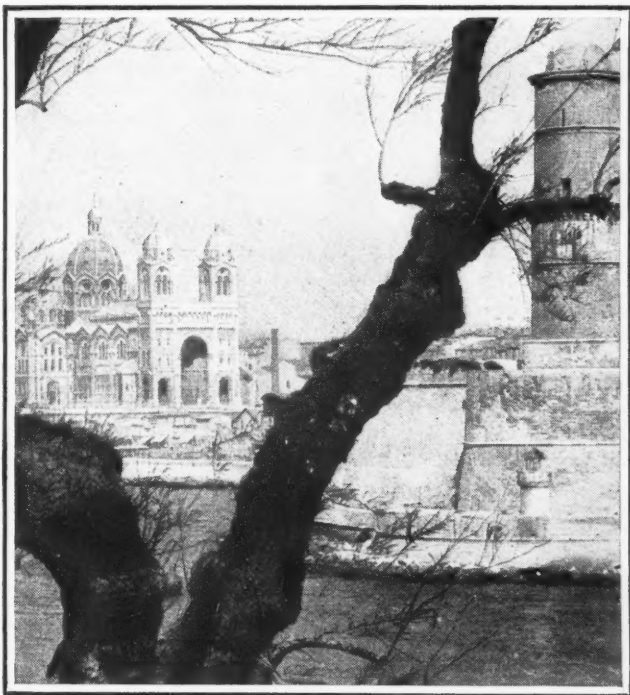
NEW PRINCIPLES EVOLVED BY FRANCE

The nineteenth century was the age of nationalities. New principles, nobler, juster, developed from the ideas of the French Revolution and propagated by

Napoleon, were disseminated, and little by little dominated. France, in the nineteenth century, declared the following principle: Nations have rights, like individuals; e. g., the right not to be divided or dismembered. France herself put her new principles into practice; in 1860, after the war of Italian liberation, she did not claim the right to annex Savoy and Nice without a plebiscite to ascertain the will of the population. But the nations she had aided to secure their unity turned against her. Prussianized Germany, victorious in 1870, tore from her two provinces deeply French at heart, if not completely so in respect to language. But France's protest helped Europe to formulate a new law, and when, on Aug. 3, 1914, Germany attacked France and violated the neutrality of Belgium, this paved the way for a strong movement of national emancipation in Europe, the chief characteristic of which was the resurrection of the Slavic peoples. France, victorious with her Allies, did not ask for herself a particle of territory which did not belong to her legitimately; she sought only to recover her provinces lost in 1870 and to organize her security.

The newspapers often speak of French "militarism" and "imperialism." Let us try to define the real meaning of these words. Because a people are brave in war, does it follow that they are "militaristic?" Militarism consists essentially of the attribution of both the military command and the civil power to the same authorities, the military predominating; it is also, if you wish, the intrusion of military command into a country's political life. In modern Europe, a real militarism existed only in the German Empire up to 1918. The Prussian Junkers held high office in the army, had an almost feudal power over their lands, and the highest authority in the State. The militarists formed a veritable caste more powerful than the German Parliament, because the "bronze rock of the Prussian monarchy" was over them. It was this military caste which dragged Germany into war.

When has such a state of things ever been seen in France? In what country



A glimpse of Marseilles, the great French seaport on the Mediterranean

are Generals more subordinate to civil power than in France? Was Foch President of the French Republic, as Hindenburg is President of the German Reich? In what country can a musical, gymnastic or student society never assemble without marching in military step? There is no French "militarism"; there never has been any.

Imperialism? Let us also try to define that. We must not confuse, as the Soviet press does constantly, imperialism with the spirit of conquest. Alexander the Great was a conqueror, not an imperialist. Both the word and the thing represent a new phenomenon, an effect of the gigantic industrial development of modern times, itself created by the invention of machinery; it defines exactly a form of political expansion determined and made necessary by the need of securing outlets for raw materials. The first imperialism was that of Great Britain, and the word came from the title of Empress of India which Disraeli conferred on Queen Victoria.

France has never been obliged to secure such outlets for herself by force. She has extended her influence over North Africa, which she delivered from the Barbary pirates; she has marked out, both in Europe and Asia, as befitted a great civilized nation, the territory in which she claimed the right to exercise her political, economic and intellectual activity; she has taken her part, from 1880 to 1918, in a "division of the world" which was to have no morrow. But her expansion does not have that characteristic of economic necessity which marks British imperial expansion. If there is a French imperialism, it is moder-

ate and reasonable, and its chief object is to bring civilization to backward or primitive peoples.

French policy, since France's victory, with her Allies, in 1918, is pacific to the highest degree imaginable. France wishes only to stabilize Europe as it has been shaped and molded by the treaties which ended the great war and to which, unfortunately, the United States refused to be one of the signatories. In any conceivable war France would run the risk of losing everything, and could gain nothing. She is satisfied with her present frontiers, and is in that happy situation where she desires nothing which belongs to others. She is bound by friendly ties to Belgium, and she considers that the problem of the Low Countries, which has weighed so heavily on her history and has so long been for her a danger, has been solved by the existence of a strong Belgium allied to her.

ALLIANCES STILL NEEDED

The great transformations of Europe

after the war have taken place in the centre and in the East, and they can be defined in a single phrase—resurrection of the Slavic nations, which the Germans and Hungarians for ten centuries have thrust back, oppressed, denationalized. After so many centuries, it is difficult for the Germanic nations to resign themselves without regret to this rebirth of the Slavs and to give them the place which is their due. It was evident that after 150 years it was not possible to restore Poland or Czechoslovakia without infringing certain rights and interests, but was this a reason for not repairing the great injustices of the partitions of Poland and the annihilation of Czech independence?

That is why for a long time it will be necessary to reinforce the policy of peace of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Peace Pact by alliances between those peoples who have determined to maintain the peace and the frontiers of 1919; this will be necessary so long as States exist which seek to destroy those treaties. The indignation, all officially ordered, that such alliances evoke in Germany is proof of the great desire that the Germans have to see those alliances canceled; and they would be sure to profit thereby by destroying the treaties of 1919.

It may be said that in view of the present state of Europe, if the British fleet, and above all the French Army, should disappear tomorrow, the 1919 treaties would be torn up immediately, and those clauses nullified which are particularly just and which make amends for past wrongs—the revival of free Poland, for instance. Complete disarmament

would inevitably be followed by a return to the injustice that prevailed before 1914. Italy is training her youth in a militant nationalism, and her policy seeks, in the Balkans, to "divide and rule." Hungary cannot resign herself to the loss of vast territories in which, undoubtedly, Hungarians lived, but also a much greater number of Rumanians, Croats, Serbs and Slovaks. In Germany, it is far from certain that the peaceful trend, whose importance and sincerity we do not deny, will overcome the old Prussian anti-Slavic militarism; for all public education is turned toward nationalism, and even into the minds of young children the idea is instilled of a great Germany that would take in all the old empire, and in addition thereto, Austria. As for the press, as against 700 democratic and Socialist papers may be listed 2,028 which are nationalistic. In view of these conditions how could we be sure that Germany is definitely purged of Prussianism and freed of militarism? France of today, far from threatening other States, has every reason to fear for her own future, for population statistics are becoming more and more unfavorable. With her 40,000,000 inhabitants, she is overshadowed by Germany with her 60,000,000, and by Russia, with her 100,000,000. She is already behind Italy, and for a long time has been behind Great Britain combined with her colonies. By reason of her geographical position, she, more than any other nation, needs to remain strong to maintain the glory of her civilization. All her policy has but these aims—peace, security, the maintenance of the treaties.

PARIS, France, April, 1929.

Mexican Military Adventurers In Revolt

By CARLETON BEALS

AUTHOR OF *Mexico: An Interpretation*

WITH the outcome of the revolution in Mexico still undetermined, Americans are asking: "Why do Mexicans revolt, and why this revolt?" Why, when apparently Mexico was enjoying stable, liberal government, when notable progress in all lines had been made during the past two administrations, when the country was enjoying friendly relations with the United States—why should the group of militarists under the command of General José Escobar suddenly rise up against the constituted government, sweeping ten out of the twenty-eight States into bloody strife? Is the Mexican inherently incapable of self-government? Or has the revolt important grievances not told north of the Río Grande? Is some one suppressing the news? And why has the Hoover Administration chosen to throw its weight to the side of Portes Gil?

American interests have nearly a billion and a half dollars invested in Mexico. The operations of American-owned mines in Durango, Chihuahua and Sonora were greatly embarrassed by the rebel operations. American west coast planters and sugar cane growers in Sinaloa were directly in the path of the military shuttle. American investment in railways suffered great loss in the destruction of lines in Chihuahua and Sinaloa. American capital in the Monterrey steel industry was affected by the forced loans of Escobar. Native enterprise was also harassed. Peaceable citizens were killed, their homes destroyed, their property endangered and seized. The normal pursuits of all northwest Mexico have been shattered. Civil war is a cruel and

costly business; and though revolutions against intolerable tyranny have occurred and have won national independence in human history, the wanton destruction of life and property by the revolting Mexican militarists does not bear the stamp of one of the world's major surgical operations. It is the chronic military revolt that has featured Mexico's career for a hundred years, a squalid struggle between the ins and the outs along classic, conventional Mexican lines. A cruel and insensate method of settling, not political issues, but political succession.

Why, asks the average American, should a long strip of desolate sand and a long thread of river suffice to separate two systems of life and government so antithetical as are those of Mexico and the United States? Why is it that the man who, in the United States, ties up butcher packages, or drives a grocery wagon, or plows land, in Mexico periodically fills his brother full of lead?

The answer, it seems to me, lies in the three words, ignorance, poverty and power. Linked up with these are problems of race and cultural conflicts, army lawlessness and forms of governmental control modeled on the Roman-Spanish superstate quite alien to anything known in this country. In the United States we think of governmental practices in terms of democracy, of politics, of institutions. To use a similar criterion for Mexico is to fail completely to understand her affairs. Government in Mexico must be thought of first, in terms of militarism; second, in terms of race aspirations; third, in terms of proletarian emancipation; fourth, in terms of the Roman-

Spanish superstate; fifth, in terms of American diplomatic and financial expansion. Mexico is too complicated, too charged with warring social forces to permit of simple democratic processes. Mexico lacks the industrialization, the standardization, the uniform cultural heritage of the United States, which serve for the orderly genuflections required by our democracy. In Mexico contending interests are too sharply opposed, too matched in strength, to permit, as yet, of orderly solutions. And since force is thus the final measure of political control, there can be no tolerance. Any liberalism risks everything in being liberal. The military has, for a hundred years, held the whip hand. A pernicious military system still holds sway, permitting rival interests to grapple at each other's throats in mortal combat. It is an ever deadly struggle for the country, because neither side can afford to give quarter. But what are the basic causes of this set of circumstances?

IGNORANCE AND POVERTY

The mass of the population of Mexico is still illiterate. Beginning with Obregón, education was for the first time in Mexico's history, with the exception of a short interval under Juárez, put upon a truly popular basis. Juárez, the Indian President of the '50s, threw up his hands in despair at the problem of education, declaring: "What use is it to found new schools when the pupils come from homes where they don't get enough to eat?" Yet, beginning with Obregón, education was based upon the theory that every Mexican child has a right to go to school, and must go to school as soon as facilities can be created. And so the budget for education was increased from 8,000,000 pesos in Díaz's time to a hypothetical budget of 50,000,000 (actually about 35,00,000). War was made on illiteracy. Today more than twice the percentage of children go to school as before 1910, though the ratio of school attendance is still about half what it is in France and Germany. By the time the present generation passes off the Mexican scene illiteracy will have been reduced to about 50 per cent of the popu-

lation, i. e., about what it is in Italy. In any event, the tradition of popular education created by Obregón is now firmly entrenched in Mexico. Calles has rapidly extended education into the rural districts. During his administration 4,000 new rural schools were founded; teachers' "missions" composed of teachers, a nurse, an agronomist, a specialist on rural industries, a physical culture teacher, and so forth, were sent out over the length and breadth of Mexico. Many new normal schools were founded, also new agricultural, art and technical schools and an Institute of the Indian to train Indians to be sent back to their native localities as community leaders.

In spite of all these efforts, only the surface has been scratched; and even these efforts are only beginning to bear fruit. The condition of illiteracy, ignorance and mass superstition which has hitherto prevailed in Mexico is still one of the primary factors explaining why large bodies of men can be led off by the noses to slaughter one another.

The great mass of the Mexican population is still in the abyss of poverty. Probably ten million people in Mexico live in one or two room huts with dirt floors, sleep on *petates*, or straw mats; permit the pigs and chickens in their habitations, are obliged to live on an insufficient diet. In the rural districts nature is, in some places, sufficiently benign to lend even this sort of existence a sturdy simplicity and dignity; yet where such a system of living impinges upon town and city life, where disease is more readily transmitted, the toll of human life is shocking. All naïve and bucolic standards break down; means of gaining a livelihood are further curtailed, and the result is the dislocation of large sectors of the population, thrust half way between normal rural life and a metropolitan life utterly degrading. To people in such straits war has little unfriendly meaning. It is merely an incident in misery. And, if anything, participation in military ventures means an improvement on everyday conditions. Food is more assured. Looting promises possible ready wealth. And, swinging over valley and ridge, the bedraggled par-



Acme

GENERAL PLUTARCO ELÍAS CALLES
Commander-in-Chief of the Federal
forces in Mexico

ticipant in military adventures gains a sense of freedom and self-importance never before enjoyed when he was chained to serfdom, or a part of a mongrel dislocated portion of the population. Poverty explains why double pay, granted by the present revolting officers to their forces, is sufficient to lead men to thrust their chests against cannon mouths. The fatalism of poverty helps out. *Vamos a ver*—the gods may deal luck. The ordinary soldier is already too injured to hardship and misery not to find the danger of sudden death more attractive than prolonged misery.

THE LAND PROBLEM

In the direction of eliminating mass poverty the recent administrations have also done much. They have consistently attempted to better the lot of the average Mexican. Labor unions have been

permitted to demand better wages, yet still a wage which would seem ridiculously near starvation to the average American. Shortly before I left Mexico President Portes Gil told me: "There can be no organic peace in Mexico until the land problem is solved." And he went on to tell me how in his State, Tamaulipas, two-thirds of the peasants now have lands. The same is true of Vera Cruz, of Morelos and some other States. This is perhaps why the present revolt found no echo in the traditional bandit State of Tamaulipas, and why it promptly collapsed in Vera Cruz, why that long upturn State of Morelos is not engaging in the present upheaval. Men who have a dignified pursuit in life, by which they can earn a decent living, automatically become apostles of stability and peace. Thrust two-thirds of the American population into the poverty endured by the mass of Mexicans, close the doors to their emergence from such a status, and it is doubtful if we would long boast of stable government even in this country.

Up to date 13.6 per cent of the Mexican rural population has received thirteen and a half million acres in accordance with the agrarian laws of "restitution" and "dotation." Sixty per cent of this land was distributed during the Presidency of Calles. In spite of this progress, in most of the Northern States, where revolt is now raging, half the area or more is still held in colossal estates quite unaffected by the government land program. Yet, curiously, it is not the peasant who is revolting, but the militarist, hoping to capitalize, for his own interests, the fear of the large *hacendados*, or proprietors, that portions of their estates will be expropriated. Yet the legal norm for providing each peasant with an inalienable plot of land has now been established; and for three years the government has punctually met its obligations toward the agrarian bonds. At one time, but less frequently since Calles set to work on the problem so seriously, the peasants violently seized lands, and the authorities were often obliged to acquiesce and legalize this method. Ambassador Morrow pointed out to me that Mexico had often been

criticized for its land policy when in reality it should have been criticized for its lack of police efficiency.

ABUSE OF MILITARY POWER

Where ignorance and poverty link hands, and both are tied up with disaffected race blocs, with submerged cultural aspirations, ever seeking outlet, yet ever repressed, the natural result has been the reiterated abuse of power and the lust for power—especially in the military ranks. Rarely in human history have men in power ever been checked in their excesses by anything other than public opinion directed into organized channels. Hence Mexico, long devoid of public opinion, not to mention the lack of popular organization, even back in the Colonial period, came to be ruled by a government of cliques. And in the sordid struggle of cliques the army came to wield ever more importance, came to be the all-powerful instrument of social control, the maker and breaker of States, a belated Praetorian Guard system. And so, without a valid public opinion, the army rose above law and order. Its Generals were full of greed, personal ambition, without loyalty. The army, in turn, largely a feudal rather than a national army, has preserved, during the revolutionary period since 1910, the most entrancing traditions of treachery; it has divided and subdivided into personal cliques, which have dragged the country to repeated disaster in the wake of their brutal and egotistic ambitions.

Each General controls a following held in hand by emoluments, graft and special privileges. Officer schemes against officer and General against General. "Camorras" are formed to undermine the State, in the hope of stirring up rebellion, for as a result of such disorder new posts are created, each General aspires to win the upper hand, and new ways are open for enrichment and power. This is the sordid history of the Mexican Army. And in the general oppression which has been the lot of Mexico's population for four centuries outcasts and outlaws have ever been disturbers of the public peace. Army revolt has come at opportune moments to lend a false dignity to the out-

law, the bandit, to give him a cause. The cycle has been: from serf and beggar to outlaw, from outlaw to organized brigandage, from brigandage to the advocacy of a cause, and from cause to a place in the legitimate military machine. Here power has joined hands with cynical memories of the savage bestiality of the outlaw, and old practices have continued under the cloak of the military uniform. There are more Machiavellian morons in high places in the Mexican Army than in any other similar institution in the world.

Thus law and the Constitution have had only the meaning that the military caste has desired. In Durango, when I went through that country ten years ago, the catchword was, "The Villistas rob by day, the Federals by night." The regular army officers, since they were the repository of State sovereignty, have ever confused loyalty with personal ambition. Treachery has been the watchword. Agustín de Iturbide betrayed the Crown to declare independence. Guadalupe Victoria and Nicolás Bravo promptly turned against Iturbide. Nicolás Bravo betrayed President Guadalupe Victoria. Bustamente betrayed Guerrero, who had saved Bravo. Santa Ana betrayed everybody. Such was the successive story of Mexico's army system. recent years Victoriano Huerta vilely betrayed Madero. Guadalupe Sánchez betrayed Carranza and later Obregón. De la Huerta also betrayed Obregón most repulsively. Gómez and Serrano betrayed Calles. José Escobar and Manzo betrayed Portes Gil, disgracing their army uniforms. Indeed, all these men were members of the Mexican Army when they went into revolt. Officers and more officers. In 1821 there were less than two soldiers to every officer. Santa Ana, on one occasion when he seized power, handed out 12,000 commissions as spoils of reward. (Cf. Ernest Gruening, *Mexico, and Its Heritage*.) Obregón, after the de la Huerta revolt, created eighty new Generals as reward for loyalty. Revolt means death, but also new spoils for both sides. The people pay the piper.

The Mexican Generals are absolute lords of life and property. They ride



Acme

GENERAL JESUS M. AGUIRRE
Rebel leader who was captured and executed by the Mexican Government

over the land in private cars, with large entourages and many women. They requisition everything they want, and rarely pay. They have been known to murder parents to get a daughter, brothers to get a sister. A member of Portes Gil's Cabinet told me just before I left Mexico that General Ferreira, who has since been captured (one of the present revolters), and who committed suicide rather than face court-martial, had obstructed all educational work by permitting his officers to abduct the women school teachers sent out by the Department of Education. These women swallowed their shame rather than raise scandal, and no local tribunal could have protected them. This same General Ferreira threatened to railroad me out of Jalisco when I was investigating the religious war in that State.

Inspectors sent out by the central government to check just such abuses are often assassinated if they render an unfavorable report. Labor leaders and

peasant leaders, in recent years, have been arbitrarily shot by various Generals. Then there was General "Aspirin." When an aide complained of a headache, the General in question drew a gun and shot the man through the head, saying, "Here's some Aspirin." Personal caprice has reigned, instead of law: petty Caligulas torturing flies. General Escobar two years ago drove peasants off their lands and harvested their crops, pocketing the money, according to the Mexico City press of the time. Nothing was done to him. Mexico is today paying the price for such abuses. In fact, this is the type of General in revolt against the present administration.

Beginning with Obregón, and more resolutely under Calles, the military evil was strenuously combatted; but here, again, only a beginning could be made. Under the direction of the rigorous young Secretary of War, General Joaquín Amaro, a new army corps was built up within the shell of the old, officered by younger men. An attempt was made to inculcate the ideology of patriotism. Graft was cut down. The army budget was successively cut. Education was carried to the rank and file. New sanitary barracks were built, where classes were held during certain hours of the day.

In 1920 I saw Obregón enter Mexico City at the head of 40,000 troops. Many of them were fresh recruits. Among them were the tall Yaquis, dressed in white "pyjamas," sandals, queer beribboned straw hats, marching, with a queer rhythmic shuffle, to the "tom-tom" of primitive drums. I saw these same troops again last year, when they were lined up for the opening of Congress, when Calles announced in his message that the day of *caudillos* (military chiefs) had ended, and that Mexico should enter upon a régime of institutions and laws. And on this second occasion, in their natty gray and black uniforms, these erect, stern-faced highlanders, with their high bronze cheekbones, showed the methodic drilling according to the German manual, and they now represented one of the smartest and most precise body of men I recall ever having seen in any corner of the world.

Yet if Calles disciplined the newer army elements, and some of the rank and file of the older portions, he was unable completely to curtail the power of the old-line Generals, accustomed to regard human life and property as pawns for their personal ambitions, accustomed to act as lords of creation in their particular domains. The attempt to curtail their extravagant prerogatives is one of the principal explanations of the present conflict. During the Colonial period, and even after independence, a soldier or officer could not be tried by a civil court any more than could a priest. In other words, the army was an arrogant, closed caste, and such a caste it has remained to this day, enjoying a life independent of and superior to the State it was supposed to uphold and safeguard. The laws, traditions and privileges of this ruling caste have ever been more important than the welfare of the nation. And no such privileged group relinquishes its power gracefully. The present group of revolting Generals have feared the disciplinary efforts of Calles. They have seen their old prerogatives slipping one by one. They have seen the law of the land and the Constitution emerging supreme and their old rôle of potentates rapidly passing. They hate Calles, not because he has violated the law of the land, but because he has curbed their power to plunder. And so they have made a last fling to conserve their waning power. The spread of education, the bettered economic standards of large blocs of the population, the efforts of Obregón, Calles and Portes Gil in behalf of the rural communities, the founding of agricultural schools, the replacing of ignorant superstition with knowledge and rationalism, the war on illiteracy and on a backward priesthood, the liberty given the people to organize themselves for economic self-betterment—all these things have seriously menaced the old-time supremacy of the militarists.

And so the present group of revolting Generals represents the last nucleus of the officer class schooled in that terrible period of disorder from 1914 to 1927, when Villa hordes rampaged in Chihuahua and Durango; when the Capatistas

rode with quirt and spur and shout of liberty down upon Cuatla, upon Yautépec, upon Cuernavaca, over the hills and valleys of the State of Morelos, when Mexico was crossed and recrossed by rattling cavalry and artillery, when plain and crag, plateau and jungle echoed to the cannon roar of a nation gripped from end to end by civil war. Present events seem tame in comparison. But the group of Generals in revolt today—Escobar, Manzo, Topete, Aguirre, Urbalejo, Caraveo—all received their disorderly training during that earlier hectic period. There was no law in those days but the individual will of the strutting General. Nor could these Generals, evidently, as did the truer social idealists of the period, turn readily from the sword to the plow, from generalship to the tasks of civil reconstructive administration. The lust for power of most of these Generals, some of whom already have records of treachery, bound them to a slavish tradition. Their memory of military absolutism never faded; their dream of greater power and wealth never dimmed. Yet, practically all of them, though they rise up to defend the "poor peepul," are many times over millionaires. And so these Generals represent an old order, a dying feudal order, set over against the attempt of the last two decades to bring about the modernization of Mexico. These Generals are instinctively against the attempt to make the Constitution and the law effective, the attempt to create a dignified nation of producers and consumers, the attempt to subordinate the army to the State.

SOLDIERS BLINDLY OBEY

I have ridden the length and breadth of Mexico on troop trains, on the top of box cars, in gondolas where, with the common soldiers, I have drunk hot coffee and eaten *tortillas* (pancakes) toasted over fires built on the steel bottoms of the cars. I have gambled with Indian troops, dealing the Spanish cards, for cartridges. I have listened to their stories. I have watched them dance their historic Indian dances in the barracks. I have heard them thrumming guitars. In the earlier days of the *guerrilleros* there was loyalty among the followers to this



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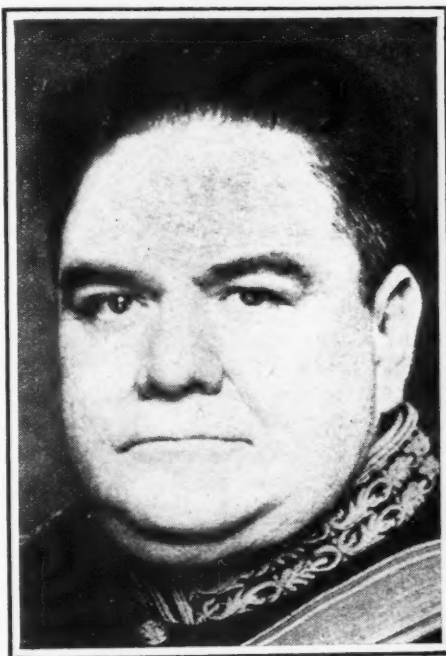
GENERAL JOSE GONZALES ESCOBAR
A leader of the Mexican rebels

or that chief, there were heated discussions over land and water and schools; but the rank-and-file soldier rarely knew of the ideals of social liberation; then and now, he was a man who received his peso and a quarter a day, his ration of beans and corn (if the officers did not happen to be grafters); and for this meager return he obeyed and still obeys orders blindly.

Yet the educational work of the recent governments has borne some fruit. The Mexican soldiers are not so unconscious as they used to be. Large groups of them have deserted the rebel cause and have returned to the fold. This was particularly true in Vera Cruz, where General Aguirre's attempt at revolt fizzled out like a damp squib just because of such desertions—because the rank and file and the under officers had been effectively imbued with a new creed of loyalty. In many places the government has permitted the arming of local Committees of Social Defense, that the villagers might combat the Catholic rebels or bandits; and these committees, thoroughly conscious, thoroughly aware of the government's constructive program, and constantly in contact with local military units, have passed over to the regu-

lar army ranks something of their *esprit de corps*. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the army in Jalisco has remained, for the most part, loyal in the present crisis.

Thus Obregón, Calles and Portes Gil have definitely attempted to subordinate the army to the State, to establish a civilian régime. Particularly Calles, whose first break with the traditional army groups, the militarists of the North, occurred in 1928, when, on Sept. 1, at the opening of Congress, he recited to all the assembled chiefs of division the story of Mexico's military abuses, announced that the duty of the army was loyalty to the nation and declared that the rule of military chiefs had ended, that the sun of reckless military power had set and that Mexico should enter in the ways of true representative government. A subsequent reunion of Calles with the Generals was held, and Calles attempted to convince them that they should bow to the need of the country for a civilian President. The second break came when



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GENERAL FRANCISCO R. MANZO
A leader of the Mexican revolt

Generals Escobar and Manzo, now in revolt, refused to accept this decision. The third break with the traditional army system came with the choice of the capable civilian President Emilio Portes Gil, ex-Governor of Tamaulipas, to head the government. This represented an irrevocable break with the old militarists.

To support him in this change of policy, Calles had the support of Secretary of War Joaquin Amaro, a brilliant, thoroughly patriotic type. He had behind him public opinion, newly developing, which deeply hates the military clique. He had the support of the new organizations of workers and peasants. He had behind him the legitimate business interests of the country, which had long suffered from the illegal military abuses. And he had the friendship of Ambassador Morrow, and therefore of the United States. These were preponderant forces. And so the intrenched power of the governmental machinery, of legally constituted authority, the support of the public at large, with the exception of the fanatic Catholics, and the friendship of the United States have turned the scales against the rebels and their outworn shibboleths. This break of Calles with the Northern militarists, the shift to a civilian President, the change in the political centre of gravity from the conquering North to the truer Mexico of the South and Centre, were bound to precipitate the present armed crisis.

The military revolt, on its part, counted, first, on the tradition of treachery and easy military seizure of power; second, it could and did play upon Catholic disaffection. But as the rebel troops never succeeded in penetrating into the centres of armed Catholic rebellion, namely, Jalisco and Guanajuato, this has

served them little; and their pro-Catholic edicts, their favoritism to rebel priests, the nullifying of the religious laws and the ringing of church bells availed them little in terms of actual military aid. Furthermore, the tradition of military treachery had already received two terrible body blows through the decisive defeats of de la Huerta and of Gómez and Serrano in 1923 and 1927, respectively. Mexico is no longer so ready to tolerate wanton assaults upon the public power. One of the de la Huerta Generals, now in exile, confessed to me that the consistent sabotage of the peasants behind the lines in Vera Cruz in 1923-24 did more to break up the morale and hamper operations than the actual thrust of the government's troops. This is a form of public opinion; and it is a public opinion which, properly channelized, will contribute to the orderly expression of political needs, and is, in fact, increasingly doing so. Education, reconstruction, the solving of the land problem through the creation of an independent peasantry, irrigation, rural credits, cooperative enterprise, sanitation—all these and other efforts carried on by the past three administrations in Mexico have limited steadily and relentlessly the sphere of power of the military caste. Only the continuation of such efforts can create a truly organic peace in Mexico. Not merely through the creation of a new type of police power, such as a constabulary, but through a definite replacement of the army as an instrument of social control by other instruments of a popular and representative character, and the tireless attempt to rebuild the country as has already been demonstrated in recent years, will Mexico emerge from the pernicious army system which has debased it for so many decades.

Bolshevism As An International Menace

By THEODORE AUBERT

PRESIDENT, ENTENTE INTERNATIONALE CONTRE LA III^e INTERNATIONALE, GENEVA

LAST Autumn a Russian engineer, M. Groum-Gemailo, who had agreed to help the Soviet Government in its work of socializing the State, asked the Economic Council of the U. S. S. R. to free him from his obligations. Shortly after this the *Izvestia* for Oct. 28, 1929 (No. 252), published a violent article against Groum-Gemailo; on the 1st of November this same paper announced his sudden death, and the next day, Nov. 2, published long statements by two physicians who said that Groum-Gemailo had died "of natural causes."

We shall not try to determine the truth about this sudden death, nor to explain why the *Izvestia* thought it necessary to publish the doctor's statements, but we shall give a résumé of the motives which induced the former engineer to offer his resignation. These motives are the final testimony of an intelligent and far-seeing man, who had once wished with all loyalty to help the Marxist experiment. He was, however, aware of the fact that Marxism as a doctrine had limitations, due to the fact that the very rapid development of industrial technique had profoundly changed the original conceptions of the problem which Karl Marx faced. According to Groum-Gemailo, electricity would more and more take the place of the manual labor of the working class, just as steam and hydraulic engines had already replaced the once indispensable labor of slaves. And he thought that capitalism and science would in the end free the proletariat, whereas socialism would put him under a pitiless and inescapable tyranny—that of the State. The ideal of all contemporary engineers,

he wrote in his request to the Soviet authorities, an ideal which is now beginning to be realized in the United States, is an industrial plant with no manual laborers, a plant which will create such a surplus of production that the class struggle, as such, will lose its *raison d'être*.

Let us now explain briefly the reasons for M. Groum-Gemailo's resignation.

Just as the Tartar rulers, without meaning to, created a Russian people and made that people capable of forming their great empire, so the Bolshevik experiment will make them into a very strong nation. The Bolshevik suppression of all private initiative in commerce and industry, its bureaucratic control of all branches of human activity, have made the Russians more strongly attached than ever to personal liberty and individual initiative; and have cured them of their two great national faults: their heedlessness and their extravagance. "That is why," Groum-Gemailo wrote in his letter of resignation which his subsequent death has made into a kind of last will and testament, "I accept the Bolshevik régime, in spite of its many evil consequences for the present generation."

In the very next paragraphs, however, he claimed that the experiment had not been carried through honestly; every one has had to work in constant fear; the actual results have not been reported truthfully; the directors have made other people responsible for their own failures and their own mistakes. Here he cited the striking example of the Donetz affair as a case in point. In order not to acknowledge their mistakes in the indus-

trial realm, the Bolsheviks, by misrepresenting the facts, have tried to prove the engineers and technicians at fault. They have refused to admit that they themselves and their system were responsible for the rise in prices, the cessation of production, the general impoverishment of the people and the widespread starvation.

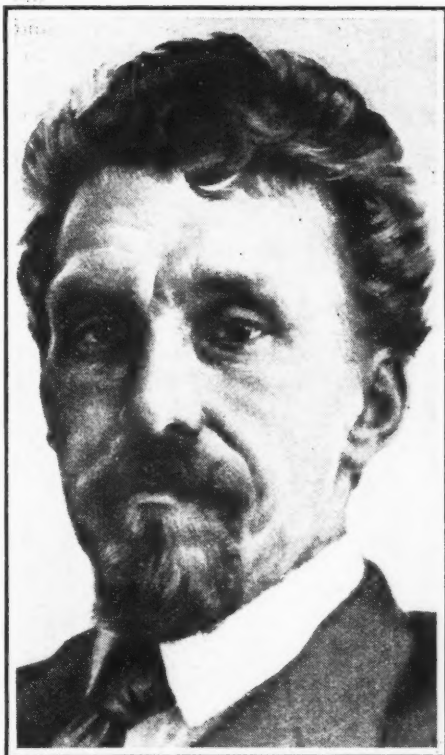
The ultimate result of this dishonest policy will be the complete disintegration of industry; indeed, living under the menace of the Tcheka, the technicians have been obliged to refrain from any decision which brought danger to themselves. The only thing there remained for them to do was to pretend to work and at the same time to refuse all responsibility. Under the Soviet régime every one keeps silent, and indeed he can do nothing else. All the intellectual

classes, as well as the workers, depend on the Soviet State for their salary, and under the threat of starvation must conduct themselves as slaves.

These are the reasons for Groum-Gemailo's resignation. The statements of an experienced and courageous man who knew the risks he was running in making them to the Supreme Economic Council of the U. S. S. R., are more convincing than any number of statistics. The economic collapse of modern Russia is due to the appropriation for the profit of the State of all private possessions, to the immoral and terroristic character of the governing Soviets and finally to the bureaucratic control of all human activities. Even the schools have suffered this deadening control, for, instead of being a means of instructing and educating children for their future life, their



General organization of the Third Communist International (Komintern)



Underwood

ALEXIS RYKOV

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union

only aim, under the Soviets, is to serve as a weapon in the class struggle, and to make of the younger generation "warriors for Communism," according to a circular issued under the general direction of social education by the Commissioner of Public Instruction which appeared on the eleventh anniversary of the Soviet Republic (1928).

But, says some one, these unfortunate events concern Russia only and do not concern in the least the rest of the world. That is a very great mistake. Bolshevism is a phenomenon of an international nature and its influence is international in scope, as we shall now proceed to show.

Lenin's seizure of Russia and the Communist expropriation of all private property have had these results: The property of foreigners and the foreign capital invested in Russia have been entirely

lost, and the Russian market limited to such a degree that Russia's share in world commerce has fallen from 4 to 1 per cent, with no hope of any noticeable revival under the present régime; for the men in power have shown during their ten years of tyranny that they are incapable of putting to any serious use the vast resources of this country; they have no respect for the keeping of contracts; their government is bankrupt and economically powerless due to its policy of State ownership, which deprives its citizens of all initiative and all interest in their work. Russia, freed from Bolshevism, would offer an immense commercial field open to international trade.

INTERNATIONAL SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA

In the domain of social peace we must note a phenomenon. Soviet support is given throughout the whole world to all revolutionary organizations, to all revolutionary strikes, Soviet advice and instructions for the sabotage of factories and the disrupting of labor.

In the field of politics, the Soviet Government has no fear of putting at the disposal of its *alter ego*, the Communist International, the financial resources of Russia, the diplomatic equipment, the commercial embassies, which are all used to upset and destroy the so-called capitalist nations. The constantly increasing Red Army and its foreign branches (the military sections of the Communist parties), like the constantly increasing militarization of Russia, is an ever present menace to peace, since the Soviet State has openly declared itself not the friend but the enemy of all capitalist nations.

Rykov, president of the Council of People's Commissars, is a member of the executive committee of the Communist International, and as the head of the Soviet Government has given his personal aid to the organization of the revolution in other countries. The decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Komintern (Communist International) at Moscow in the Summer of 1928, held at the expense and under the auspices of the Soviet Government, were all directed against the Constitutions and existing

order of the various nations of the world. The Soviet schools and military colleges are educating the Communist agitators of other countries. There has just been founded at Moscow (1928) a Syndical Secretariat for colored people, a Syndical Secretariat for the Pacific, and a Red Syndical Secretariat for South America.

In the moral and intellectual world the international influence of Bolshevism is also very apparent. Scientific institutions, upper schools, are used for revolutionary propaganda; such is the Association for the Study of the Orient, which its founder, Pavlovitch Weltmann, characterized as a "laboratory for the bolshevizing of the East." The Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Nations (V. O. K. S.), which is in direct connection with and subordinate to the division of agitation and propaganda of the Komintern, is increasing its efforts to widen its scope and influence in all nations. The society is seeking friends and allies among writers, professors and students; and it is having no difficulty in finding them, a proof of which is the American Society in New York for Cultural Relations with Russia, which in November, 1928, gave a huge dinner for 800 people, in the course of which a speech was delivered in praise of Bolshevik education. Doubtless the guests were not thinking of the millions of children abandoned to every form of vice and crime which is the most tangible result of Lenin's Government; nor were they thinking of the narrow sectarian and anti-religious teaching as a result of which schools are making of their pupils not men, in the best sense of the word, but "warriors for communism," that is, disciples of "historical" materialism and partisans of the class struggle.

The Communist Youth, the Red Pioneers, both organizations whose centres are in Moscow, are trying to imbue young Americans as well as young Europeans with their doctrine of hate and jealousy.

But America and Europe are not the only continents which little by little are being seized by the tentacles of Bolshe-

vism. Already Bolshevik agents are working in Asia; and results of their work in China and the Dutch Indies are now evident; they are in Africa, and they are in Australia, where the violence of the recent strike bore testimony to the effect of their work in spreading their doctrine of hatred. This huge movement is spreading, and it hopes ultimately to reach America and Europe, for its final aim is to ruin the commercial and industrial markets of those two continents. Bolshevism, indeed, offers a problem of international peace and order whose importance should be realized by the people of all nations.

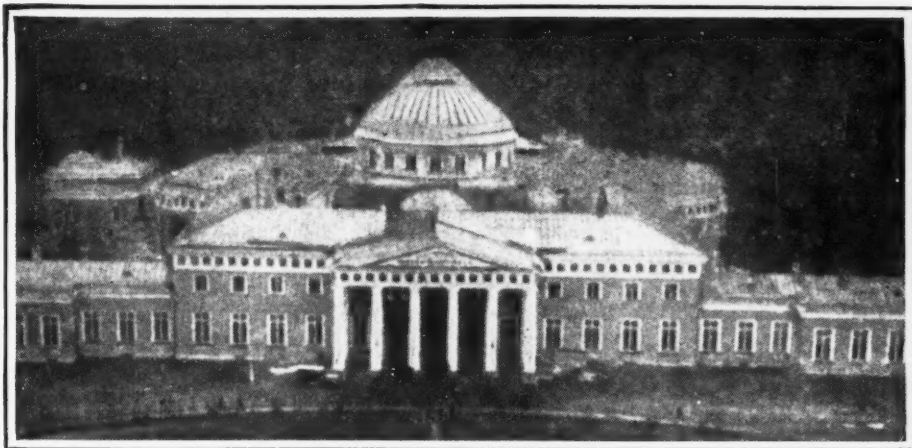
UNCHANGED AND UNCHANGING

Is the Soviet system changing, as the Bolsheviks and their friends claim? Is it tending toward moderation and humaneness? Let us quote Stalin, who said at the end of 1927, on the anniversary of the Tcheka: "We are all still Tchekists."

Is it tending toward a more rational social order—that is, away from communism? Let us quote Paul Scheffer, one of the enlightened authorities on the situation in Russia. In *Foreign Affairs* for January, 1929, he writes:

The idea cherished outside Soviet Russia that the N. E. P. (New Economic Policy) might provide an eventual means of departure from the socialistic principles of the revolution and a means of approach to our bourgeois individualistic economy, or that the Soviet State might possibly be regarded in the rôle of a prodigal son by the executives of Western banks—this idea, though still ineradicable for many minds, either represents astounding superficiality of thought or else is simply an *idée fixe* (obsession) to which the Old World clings just because it is so used to it. The determination with which the Soviet State undertook a radical alteration in the structure of Russian economics through the introduction and development of a "socialized sector," might even in the first days of the N. E. P. have carried a significant moral to outside observers. Today we know in addition that the danger which the N. E. P. represents for the socialistic State organization, forces the latter further along the path toward its communistic ideal.

Are the Soviets abandoning their desire for world revolution? Every decision reached in 1928 at the sixth Congress of the Komintern, which we have already



THE TAURIC PALACE

The headquarters in Leningrad for Communist cultural propaganda

mentioned, demands persevering and increasing preparations for civil war and colonial revolt all over the world.

Can Sovietism evolve—that is—change its present tendencies? No—first of all because, as the saying is, “He who rides on a tiger can never dismount.” The Soviets will never be able to free themselves from their policy of terrorizing and spying for they have raised up against themselves too many justifiable desires for revenge and retribution. They can never abandon their policy of socializing industry and commerce, for that is their only method of keeping all the engineers, technicians, workmen and commercial employes in their power and of finding work for their subservient henchmen to do. It is a fundamental basis, and if it were removed, the whole régime would collapse.

The conscious and systematic dishonesty of Bolshevik leaders is one of the chief causes for the numerous errors in public opinion concerning them, an opinion which, tossed about from one contradictory statement to another, has finally wearied of the whole problem. But since this problem presents serious dangers to our civilization, it is necessary to revive the attention and interest of this public opinion by giving it actual proof of Soviet conditions. Certainly there is no more convincing proof than an exposé based on actual Soviet sources of Soviet

organizations which in the United States as well as in all other nations are working constantly to bring about revolution, and which more and more effectively will strive to put into effect the official program of the Communist International adopted by the sixth Congress and heartily approved by all members of the Soviet Government. This program may be summed up as follows: Preparation for and declaration of civil war and colonial revolt throughout the world.

PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD REVOLUTION

The constantly increasing difficulties facing the Soviet régime in Russia are forcing the Communists to speed up this preparation for the outbreak of war, for in revolution lies the only hope of Bolshevism in the future. This policy explains the great sacrifices made by the Soviet Government on behalf of the Third International and also its incessant activity. But if we reflect on the means available to the Soviets, who are now masters of one-seventh of the globe, for bringing about this desperate struggle, we realize that it is time for the rest of the world, too, to prepare to ward off the attack. Up to the present, by one means and another, by diplomatic recognition, by commercial relations, by tariff arrangements which make Soviet creditors anxious to keep the régime going until they are paid, a considerable number of

nations have helped to maintain the Soviet Government in power. Yet the picture given here of the general organization of the Third International, formed according to the official report of its executive committee, clearly shows the seriousness of this attack on the nations and against civilization itself.

This picture is an easy one to understand and we speak of it only in order to make clear how each organization within a division has within itself still further subdivisions and ramifications. Each communist party, for example, contains its own central committee, political bureau, secretariat, bureau of organization, boards of control and supervision; each party convenes a national congress and regional congresses and still smaller district congresses organized by committees in the regions and districts on which the departments depend; these departments in their turn are divided into units allocated respectively to factories, workshops, mines, railway stations, shipyards, police; buildings, administrative institutions and so forth.

In Russia the spreading of Bolshevik propaganda among the youth of the nation is carried on by some thirty important subdivisions of the Committee of Public Instruction and of the Central Committee of the Pan Soviet Leninist Union of Youth; but outside of Russia this work is done under the direction of the executive of the Committee of the International Communist Society of Youth (Komsomol), with headquarters at Moscow, which through its secretariat, its agitation, propaganda, news publicity, information sections and through its International Children's Bureau, is distributing the poison of Bolshevik doctrine to Communist youth movements all over the world. The International Teachers Association cooperates directly with the Komsomol and at the same time attempts to infiltrate its propaganda into the intellectual circles and the universities, and for this end is connected with the propaganda division of the Komintern; the latter employs for this work among these small but influential circles such organizations as Voks and affiliated organizations in fourteen of the most

advanced nations. We have already seen that the United States is unfortunately possessed of an organization of this kind, the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia. The Voks has at its disposal in Moscow the following agencies: Press, news information, exchange and publicity, reception of strangers, picture section, publishing of the Voks bulletin. With the Komintern the following societies are connected in the propaganda work: The Red International Aid Society, the International Conference of Proletariat Revolutionary Writers, the Revolutionary Free-Thinkers, the Atheistic International, the Sovkino (Soviet motion pictures), the International Federation of Ido, the international artificial language derived from Esperanto; the Workman's Esperanto Federation, the Soviet Syndicate of Artists, the Anti-Fascist Committees, the committee for the struggle against the White Terror in the Balkans, the League against Colonial and Imperial Oppression and so forth.

The reader will easily understand from all this that the organizations for propaganda and action among workers and peasants are still more perfect, more active and more formidable. The International Syndicate of Profintern comes in contact through its various branches with millions of the workers of the world. The Peasant International or Krestintern, assisted by the International Agricultural Institute (Moscow), which has prepared the scientific foundation for the Bolshevizing of the peasants, directs the international communist peasant movement by coming in touch not only with the laborers in the field but also with the petty land-owners to whom it promises that the communist revolution will allow them to increase their holdings at the expense of the more wealthy proprietors. This dishonesty is the key to the whole of Bolshevism; for the Soviet Government, the Third International, with its innumerable agents and spies scattered through the world, knows very well how to make use of all the greeds and jealousies as well as of all the dislikes and hatreds which at present are troubling the poor human soul.

Solving the Negro Problem Through Education

By R. B. BINNION

PROVOST, GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS, NASHVILLE, TENN., SINCE 1924

AT the close of the Civil War, in 1867, when bitterness, suspicion and hate still gnawed at the vitals of the Republic, George Peabody, native of Massachusetts and international banker of New York, Baltimore and London, conceived the idea of binding up the wounds of battle and assuaging the misery of the beaten South by promoting public education in the South with a large, substantial gift. Born in the North, living in London, vigorously opposing secession, he was the first great world philanthropist, and his greatest gift to education was made to the South which he had fought and loved so well.

His first gift of \$1,000,000, later increased to \$2,000,000, was applied to the promotion of public high schools, normal schools, colleges and universities and other agencies for the training of teachers in the South. Peabody felt that the people who had suffered most from slavery and from the war were the poor whites of the South, and that they, too, must achieve freedom.

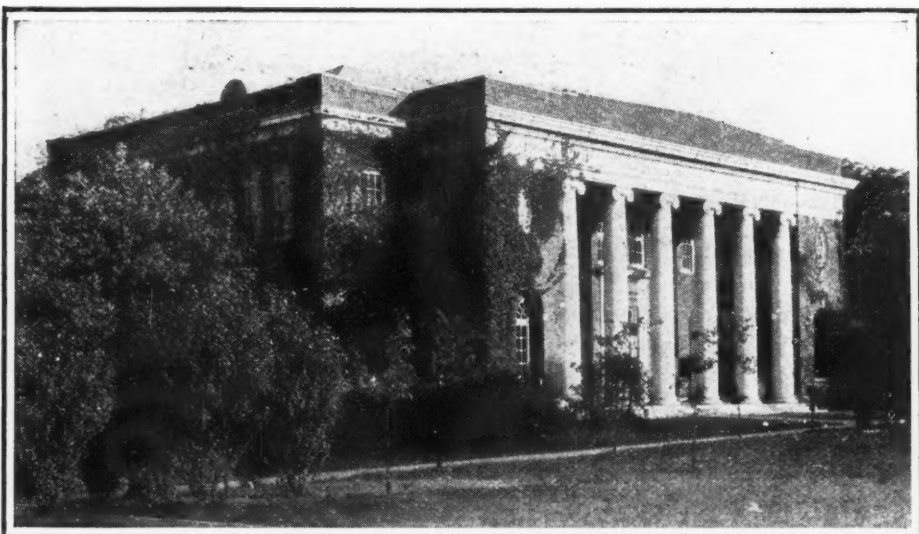
In 1909 the Peabody Trust Fund Board, believing that the States and various communities of the South were able to carry on their local educational projects, decided to concentrate the corpus of the Peabody Education Fund on a single project, and accordingly, for the purpose of training white teachers, established the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, Tenn.; and that institution has become another but different focus of interest for the Nordic, the Hebrew and the Ethiop in the very heart of the South.

The suspicion and hatred prevalent

among all classes in the South at the close of the Civil War are matters of common knowledge; but the desperate, long, uphill fight toward adjustment of social and economic race relations, magnificently aided at times by a few outside friends, is little understood. While only a few situations are touched upon in this article, and these few taken from a single State, they are typical of a new spirit.

After the war the feeling between the whites and negroes everywhere was aggravated by the "carpetbag" governments of the Northern emigré. In 1874, when Richard Coke was elected Governor of Texas by the Democrats over E. J. Davis, the last carpetbag Governor, Davis filled the Capitol at Austin with negro troops and called upon President Grant for further military aid. Davis was for going to war again. There would have been war again, but for three things—the forbearance and tact of Coke and his friends, the refusal of President Grant to participate in a new war and the loyalty of a company of negro troops to their own white folks. These troops in United States uniforms accepted commissions as deputy sheriffs from the Sheriff of Travis County, and marched into the Capitol through Davis guards and upstairs where the new Governor Coke and the Democratic Legislature were assembled, ready for battle. Davis quit and the war was over.

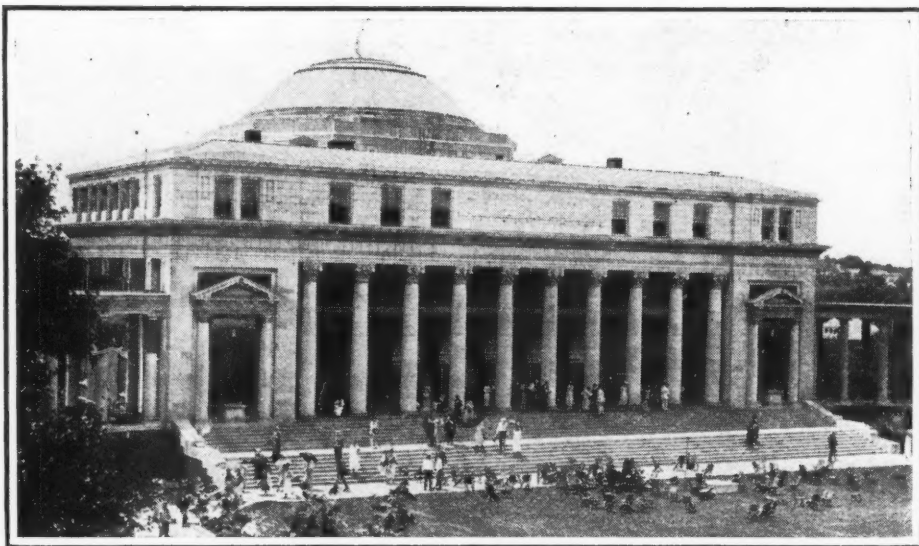
Just before the Coke-Davis contest the whites who controlled the Legislature refused to give support to a system of public free schools in Texas, because the negroes would participate therein. The



The Psychology Laboratory of the George Peabody College

next year, in 1875, a white State constitutional convention assembled in Texas which provided for a public free school system for the State, supported by taxes on all the property of the State for the benefit of all the children of the State, white and black alike. This system has not always been administered for the races alike, yet it was a material step in advance.

Notwithstanding the giant stride in universal education taken at the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1875, fear still ruled the whites to the extent that elections for the voting of local school district taxes were provided by the new Constitution; but the large property owners in the convention, fearing combinations of negroes with poor whites in school tax elections, provided that a local



The Social and Religious Building of the George Peabody College

school tax must have a two-thirds majority vote, and in no case should such tax ever exceed two mills on the dollar. These restrictions were finally removed thirty-three years later.

Much of the difficulty in the maintenance of human relations between whites

fused to vote local taxes; took money apportioned to negro children by the State and built second and third rate school houses and maintained the same kind of schools for their own children for years.

The politicians wasted millions of



General view of George Peabody College for Teachers as it will appear when all the buildings are complete

and negroes has been caused by politicians who, seeking the easiest way to office and salary, have not hesitated to use the cruelest means of attaining them. Waving the bloody shirt and fanning fires of prejudice have been biennial pastimes in both North and South. In school affairs in Texas (and Texas is symptomatic of the others) the politicians usually played fair as between the races. They slaughtered the innocents, white and black, with beautiful impartiality. They refused to build school houses for their own children in certain districts on the Rio Grande; took State school money belonging to Mexican children; rented old stores and blacksmith shops from themselves in which to keep school for their own flesh and blood. In the heavy black belt of East Texas they re-

school money by mismanagement of school lands, sometimes through incompetence, sometimes through venality. Yet when they stole or wasted one dollar of negro or Mexican money, they stole or wasted ten dollars of white money.

It is fair to state, however, that on the whole the State, county and municipal governments of Texas have been up to the average for the nation.

With the World War there entered a new man and a new woman in the South. They care nothing for the bloody shirt; race prejudice, from being a fundamental motive of life, has sunk to purely incidental uses. Education and truth are abroad. In the recent campaign, pictures of an alleged Tammany negro politician with a white stenographer were shown in South Carolina; yet

Governor Smith carried the State by an overwhelming majority. In Tennessee and Texas they tried to frighten the voters with old wives' tales of white and negro clerks swapping chewing gum in the national capital, if Mr. Hoover was elected, but both States went for Hoover.

With the new man and new woman and the new education in the South have come many new things. Under the fostering care of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, serious study of race relations, or, better, *human* relations, by college students, has sprung up in many places. Cooperative committees composed of white and negroes have been established in many places, and in many places they have functioned with remarkable success.

For example, in the East Texas State Teachers College for whites, at Commerce, Texas, presided over by a graduate of George Peabody College and, therefore, a recipient of George Peabody beneficence, in the early twenties of the present century, there were introduced into the history curricula of the institution by D. F. McCollum, head of that department, certain courses in race relations. One requirement of every course was that every student should choose some actual problem of relations between the races in his community, survey, study and report on same. Mr. McCollum seemed to have the idea that it was not propaganda, but truth that makes people free. Every shade of negro opinion and attitude, from Dubois to Booker Washington, was studied. Dubois's books were used in the courses; and some of the reports of students surveying negro educational conditions, living conditions and police protection, were just as scathing as anything Dubois has ever written.

COOPERATIVE COMMITTEES

That the work of the cooperative committees was effective can be proved by hundreds of instances. On one occasion two good negro boys walking along a railroad track were arrested for vagrancy and, having no money, were thrown into jail; knowing no one in the immediate community, they remained in



BRUCE R. PAYNE
President of George Peabody College for Teachers

jail several days; finally they were able to get information to the cooperative committee; they were released immediately and their fines were remitted. On another occasion the principal of a negro high school was charged with organizing the cotton pickers of the community to strike for higher wages; it was proposed by certain whites that the principal be taken out by night and whipped; the cooperative committee stepped in, investigated and dismissed the charges; "certain whites" were notified that the principal must not be whipped; he was not molested. On still another occasion two negro couples, the girls prepossessing in appearance, were walking in the twilight; two white officers arrested them for vagrancy; they had no money; the boys were released; the girls were held and abused, and could get no relief; finally the mother of one of them went to the wife of a white member* of the committee; that

night the two white officers left that community never to return. Instances of successful work of the committees could be multiplied without end, and similar stories elsewhere in the South prove a new attitude of mind.

Undoubtedly tremendous progress in humanizing race relations has been made in Dixie. Where progress has been made, it has been made through the recognition and teaching of truth. Contrary to the views of the more pessimistic, truth has always had its defenders and teachers; and the truth with respect to race relations in the South has had literally hundreds of exponents among both races. Booker Washington, Dr. Moton, Dr. Blackshear, Henry Grady, Clarence Ousley, Bolton Smith, have led us forward over roads upon which the South will never turn back.

When President Bruce R. Payne

opened George Peabody College for Teachers in the Summer of 1914, the late Booker T. Washington said of him: "He will do a greater work in the cause of education and welfare of the negro race than I or any other man, white or colored, of this age."

The college is in fact a continuation of the Peabody Normal School established by the Peabody Education Fund Board in 1875. During the fifty-four years of its existence more than 30,000 teachers, supervisors, and superintendents have passed through the institution. More than 16,000 are on the mailing list of the Alumni Association at present. When Booker Washington made his almost incredible statement to President Payne he told the truth; for he knew that the superintendents and administrators of negro schools in every city, county and State of the South are white, and that President Payne and Peabody would educate a large percentage of them.

President Payne and his associates have now educated a larger percentage of the directors and administrators of negro schools than any other single group or institution, living or dead. In 1926 George Peabody College enrolled 1,012 students in the graduate school. In 1927 there were 1,295 graduate students enrolled, while 1928 brought 1,466 graduate students to the college. These students are mature teachers and they intend to remain teachers. They are the group which supervise and administer negro as well as white schools throughout the South and West. They now furnish superintendents for the States of Kentucky, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Florida and supervisors in all the States.

JULIUS ROSENWALD'S WORK

The philanthropy and influence of Julius Rosenwald of Chicago in his magnificent aid to negro education in the South has been a chief factor, since George Peabody blazed the way, in humanizing racial relations. When Mr. Rosenwald gives to the erection of a negro school house, he requires that the local community join in financing the



JULIUS ROSENWALD
Chicago philanthropist, who has made large benefactions for education in the South

project. Both whites and negroes have uniformly cooperated in the work. How the local negroes and whites have labored together in this work is shown in the following statement by Fred McCuiston (M. A., Peabody, '22), who has direction of the building of Rosenwald school houses for negroes in the State of Arkansas: "Arkansas has 310 Rosenwald school houses, costing \$1,557,112, at an average cost of \$5,029 each, ranging from \$1,400 to \$70,000 per school. Rosenwald Fund has paid 16 per cent of cost. Negro school buildings are as good as white in 310 communities." From the following statement received from S. L. Smith (M. A., Peabody, '18), General Director of the Rosenwald Fund for the Erection of Negro School Houses throughout the South, it is seen that of the millions spent in the erection of Rosenwald school houses the whites have been incited by the Rosenwald gifts to put up approximately 60 per cent of the total. Mr. Smith's statement reads, in part:

"The Rosenwald schools represent investments of \$20,000,000. Of this total the negroes have contributed approximately \$4,000,000. White citizens have raised by direct gift \$1,000,000. Public tax funds have entered to the extent of approximately \$12,000,000. Approximately \$3,333,333 has been provided by Mr. Rosenwald personally or by the fund. The importance of these figures is that they show a willingness to cooperate on the part of public authorities and of private white and negro citizens."

When the final accounting is made, Mr. Rosenwald's greatest contribution through the medium of the erection of negro school houses will be, not the improvement of physical conditions of negro schools, but the fact that he has led the two races to attack cooperatively and successfully one of the great problems of race relationship in the South, the relative and satisfactory housing of the children in the schools.

The most striking and unique gift yet made by Mr. Rosenwald to the cause of education is not his generous gift for negro school houses in the South, nor yet his large gifts to the great university

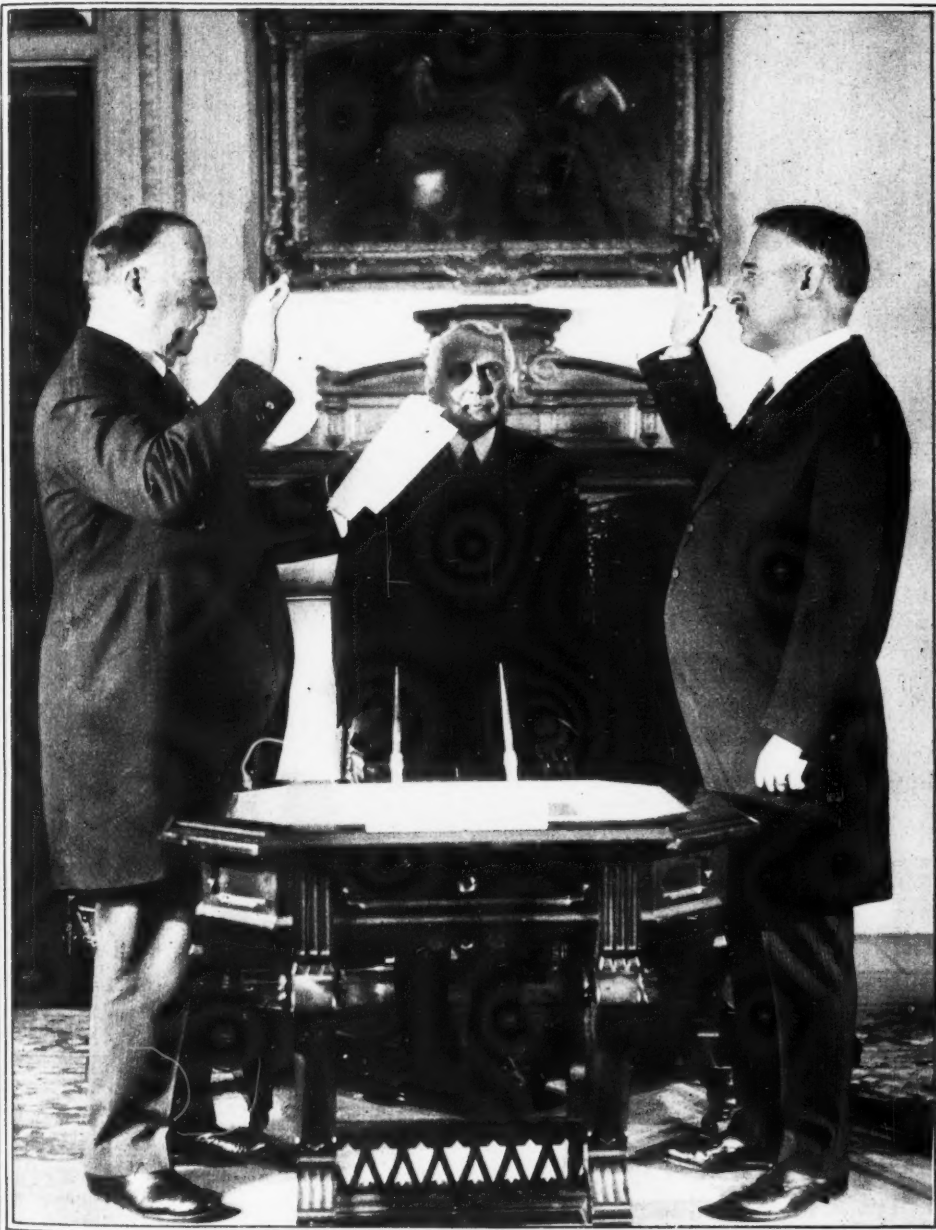
in his own home town of Chicago—but his greatest gift (time, place, condition, need, all considered), through the new Rosenwald Foundation, of a Department of Educational Sociology which shall give special attention to race problems and the training of supervisors and administrators for negro schools, at George Peabody College for Teachers.

The young men and women at Peabody College who major in the new Department of Educational Sociology will continuously be making surveys of conditions in negro schools, negro homes, negroes in the courts, negroes in labor, and negroes everywhere. Their investigations will be made from the standpoint of the student, intense, thoughtful, considerate. These young men and women at Peabody who are to be the superintendents and administrators of the negro schools of the South will gradually learn to see and evaluate situations as they are. They will deal with facts with a freedom from prejudice and bias that was impossible to the fathers with the odor of reconstruction in their nostrils and the clang of Federal bayonets in their ears.

When we who labor with this problem consider the tenseness of the lines between the races, we are prone to fret and swear and worry. But time is an element which may not be ignored in the settlement of human problems. We have picked at the problem in dilettante fashion for half a century. Now, by grace of the leadership of President Payne, the beneficence of Mr. Rosenwald, the earnest studentship of young men and women, and the friendly cooperation of Southern negroes, we shall attack the problem at Peabody earnestly, scientifically, and whole-heartedly. Moreover, we shall attack the sex question, too, not from the standpoint of miscegenation, but from the standpoint of fairness and justice. Until it becomes as dangerous for a white man to make an improper approach to a negro woman in the South as it is for a negro man to make an improper approach to a white woman, we cannot in justice say that we of the South have passed the first mile post in humanizing race relations.

Pictures in Rotogravure

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S SECRETARY OF STATE



COLONEL HENRY L. STIMSON

Chief Justice Taft administering the oath of office to the new Secretary of State in the presence of former Secretary Kellogg. This ceremony took place at the State Department on March 28, soon after Colonel Stimson had arrived from the Philippines.

Acme



THE NEW ADMINISTRATION



PRESIDENT HOOVER AND HIS NEW CABINET

Assembled on the White House lawn after their first meeting to which Vice President Curtis was also invited. As this photograph was taken before Colonel Stimson's return from the Philippines, Mr. Kellogg appears in his place as Secretary of State. Left to right, seated: Secretaries Brown, Good, Kellogg; the President; Secretary Mellon and Attorney General Mitchell; standing: Secretaries Davis, Lamont, Hyde; Vice President Curtis and Secretaries Wilbur and Adams

Times Wide World

AMERICAN
ENVOYS
TO
FOREIGN
LANDS

9



MYRON T.
HERRICK

United States Ambassador to France
(1912 to 1914 and 1921 to 1929), whose
death on March 31 was mourned in
France no less than in this country

Times Wide World



CHARLES G. DAWES

Who sailed recently to head a com-
mission of financial advisers to the
Dominican Republic

Acme

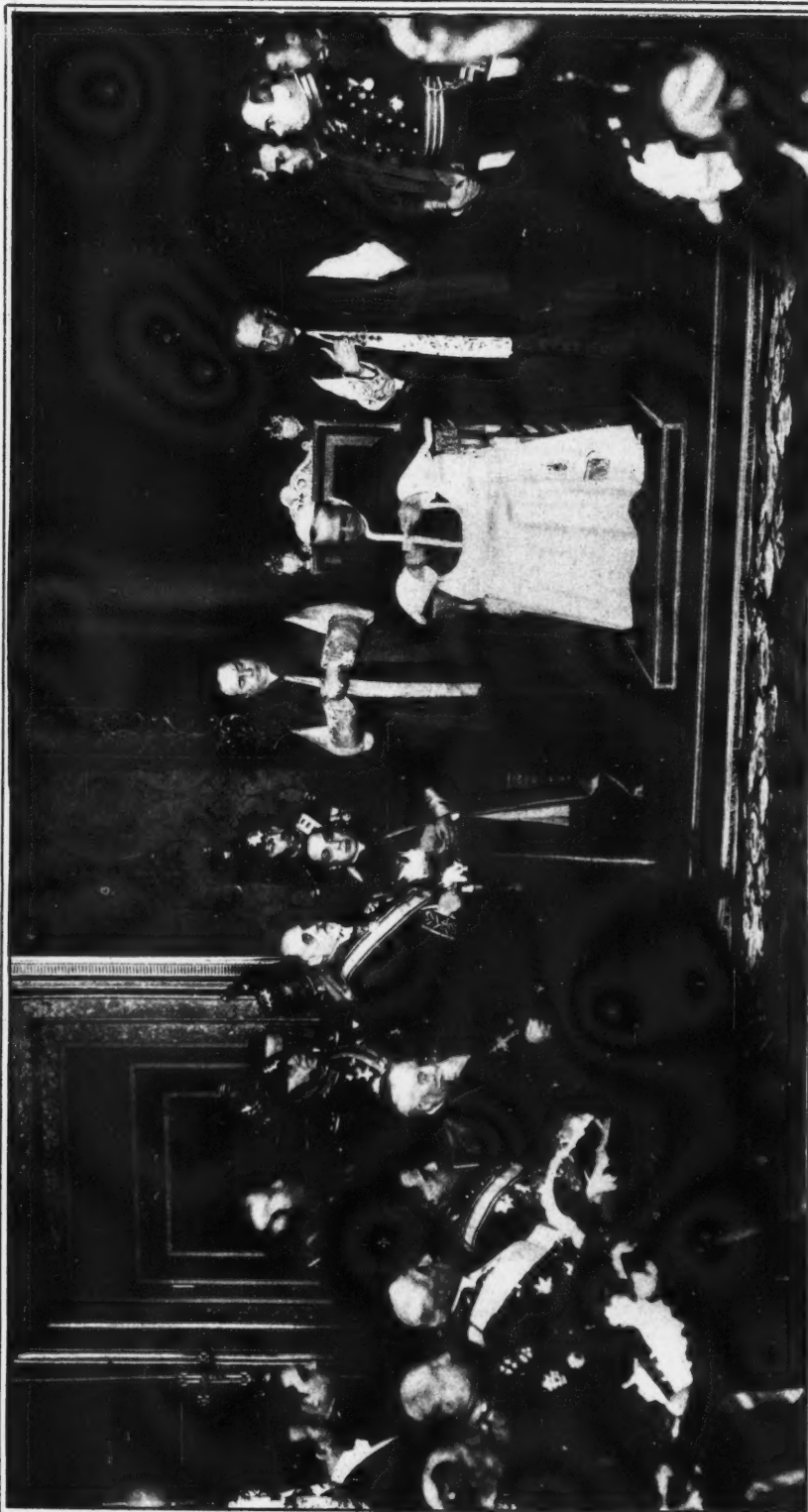
J. PIERPONT MORGAN

Representing the United States
at the meeting in Paris of the
Reparations Experts Committee,
of which Owen D. Young is
Chairman

Acme



AT THE COURT OF THE VATICAN STATE



POPE PIUS XI

Receiving the congratulations of the Diplomatic Corps at the Vatican on the conclusion of the Treaty with Italy by which the temporal power of the Catholic Church was restored

Times Wide World

SPEED BRINGS TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY



MAJOR H. O. D. SEAGRAVE

Who established a new automobile world speed record of 231 miles an hour on the sands at Daytona Beach, Fla., being congratulated by his wife on his feat

Associated Press



THE WRECK OF A RACER

In which Lee Bible was killed at Daytona Beach while trying to beat Major Seagrave's speed record

Times Wide World



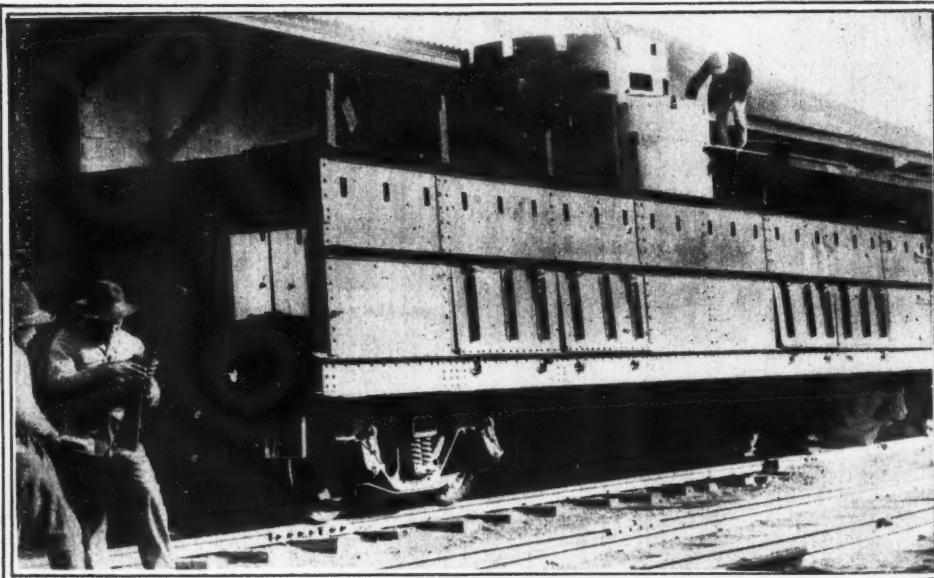
THE MEXICAN REBELLION



FEDERAL TROOPS

Guarding temporary railway tracks laid to substitute for a steel bridge blown up by the rebels in their retreat to Torreon

Acme



ARMORED CAR

Equipped with machine guns in turrets, used by the Mexican Federal Government to protect passenger and troop trains

Associated Press

DEFENDERS OF THE PORTES GIL REGIME



MEXICAN FEDERAL CAVALRY

Preparing to take Torreon, which was subsequently evacuated by the rebels

Associated Press



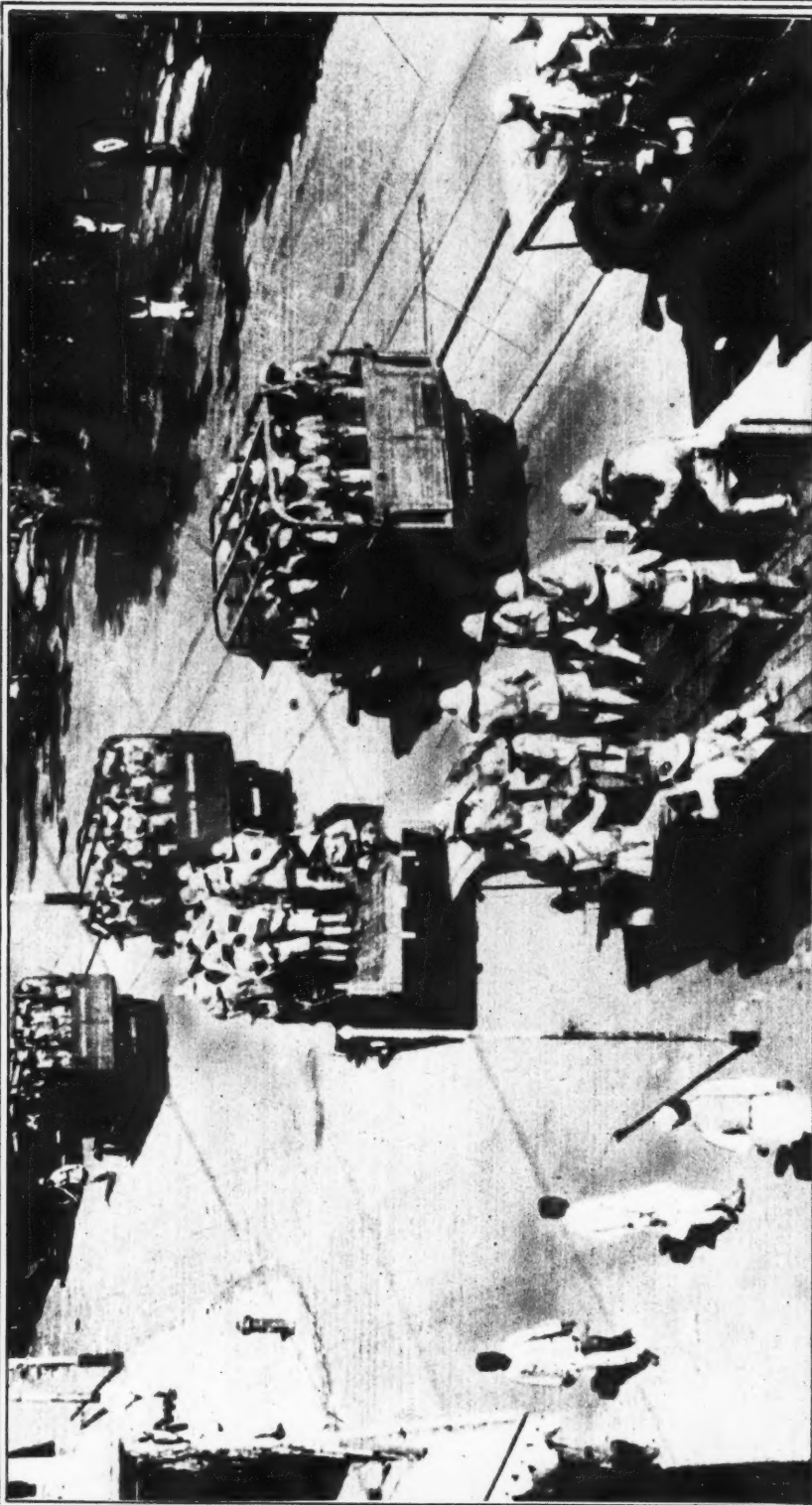
EN ROUTE TO THE FRONT

Federal infantry preparing to entrain for Torreon, where four Federal armies were massed under General Calles

P. & A. Photos



RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS STRIFE IN INDIA



BRITISH TROOPS IN BOMBAY.
Called out to quell rioting between Hindus and Pathans over the alleged kidnapping of a child for sacrificial purposes

Acme

TURKEY TURNING TO THE WEST



DIPLOMATS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Assembled at a military review at Angora, the capital of Turkey. At the extreme left is Joseph Clark Grew, the American Ambassador

Times Wide World



PRESIDENT MUSTAPHA KEMAL

Dancing with his adopted daughter, Nebile Hanim, at a ball to celebrate her marriage to the Secretary of the Turkish Embassy in Vienna

Times Wide World



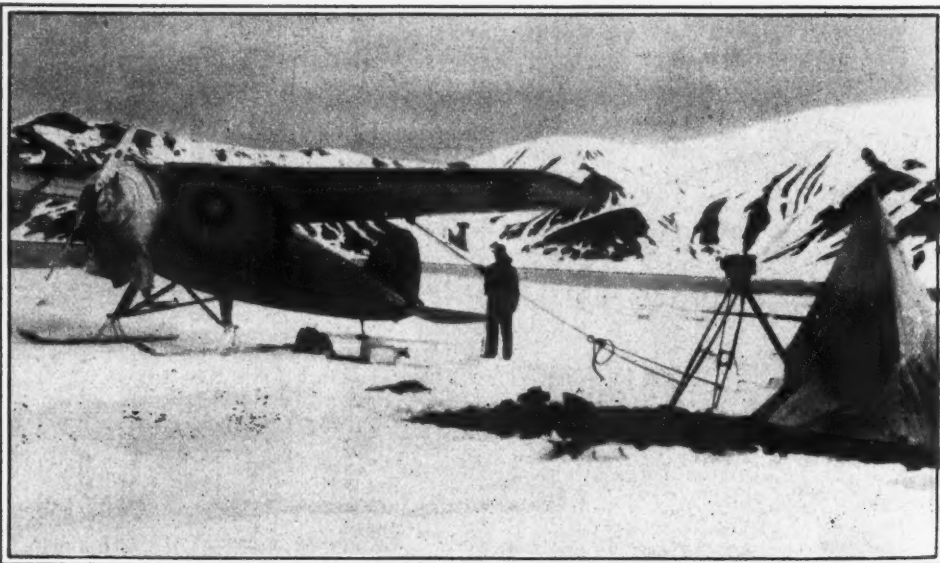
THE WILKINS ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION



THE SAN FRANCISCO

The fast Lockheed Vega plane in which Sir Hubert Wilkins (centre) and Lieutenant Ben Eielson (at right) flew over undiscovered Antarctic territory

International



PREPARING FOR THE TAKE-OFF

The plane was equipped with skis for the flight

International

AVIATORS OF THREE NATIONS



CAPTAIN EINAR LUNDBORG

The Swedish flyer who rescued General Nobile and who recently came to this country to study American aviation

International

ORVILLE WRIGHT
Receiving the Distinguished Flying Cross from former Secretary of War Davis.

Orville Wright and his brother Wilbur, who was awarded the same medal posthumously, invented and were the first to fly a heavier-than-air plane on Dec. 17, 1903. F. Truette Davison, Assistant Secretary of War, stands at the left



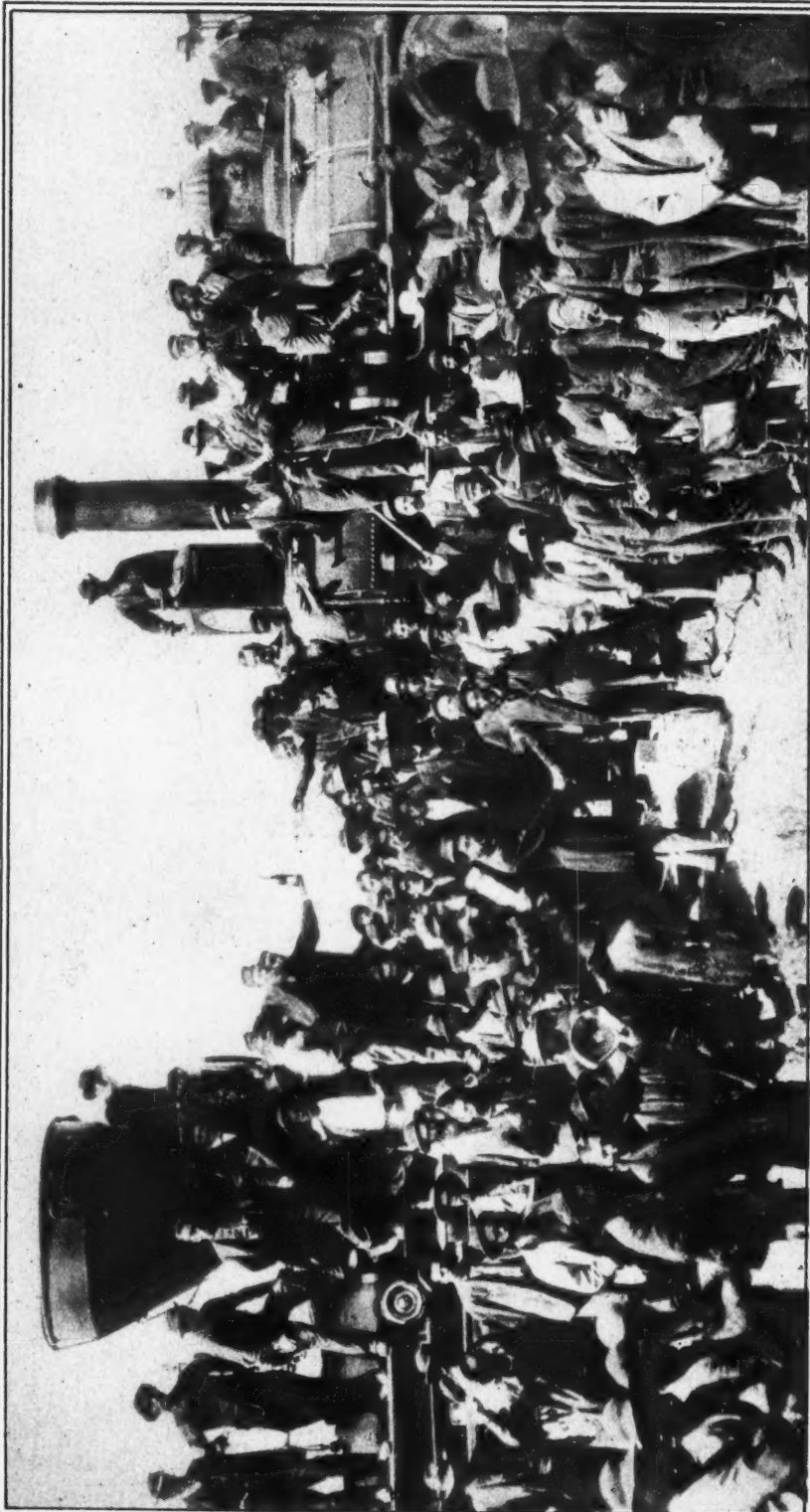
CAPTAIN SIR HUBERT WILKINS

The Australian aviator and explorer, on his arrival in New York on March 12. He plans to continue his exploration by crossing the Antarctic in a submarine

International



OUR FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD



SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LINKING OF THE EAST AND WEST

An actual photograph taken on May 10, 1869, at Promontory, Utah, where the first complete transcontinental rail service was inaugurated
by the Union Pacific Railroad
Ewing Galloway

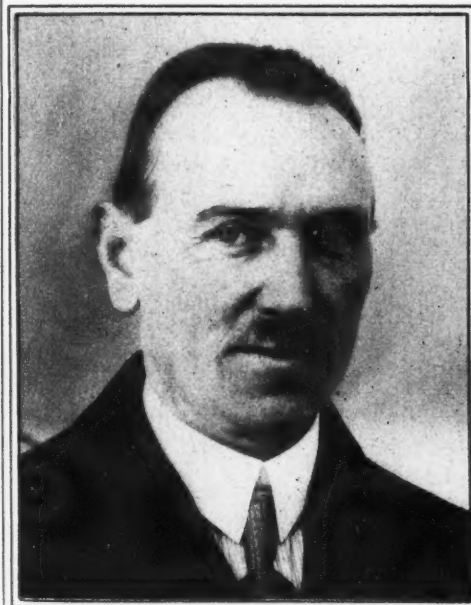
PERSONALITIES IN THE NEWS



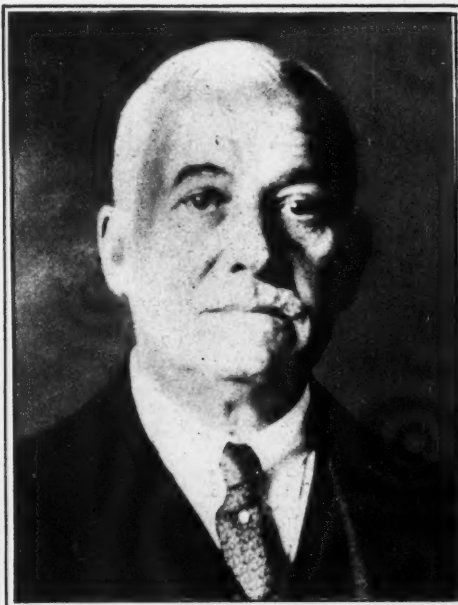
GENERAL MAURICE SARRAIL
Noted French General, who during the World War was Commander-in-Chief at Saloniki and who died on March 23
Times Wide World



GENERAL CHARLES P. SUMMERALL
The United States Chief of Staff, who was recently promoted to the full rank of General by a Congressional act
Harris & Ewing



MICHAEL MacWHITE
New Minister from the Irish Free State to the United States, who recently arrived in Washington
Acme



SIR HENRY DETERDING
Chairman of the Royal Dutch Shell, one of the world's largest oil companies
Acme



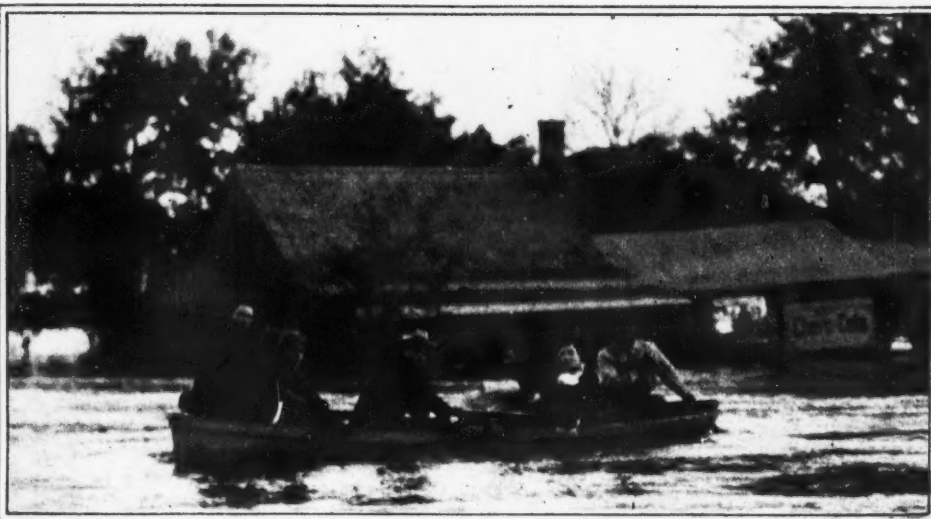
THE FLOODS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES



BREWTON, ALA., UNDER FIFTEEN FEET OF WATER

One of the many prosperous towns of Alabama and Georgia which were practically destroyed by Spring floods, with the loss of hundreds of lives and millions in property

Associated Press



RESCUING A FAMILY AT ELBA, ALA.

The National Guard, cooperating with the Red Cross, removed hundreds to safety and cared for the refugees

Acma

BEAUTY IN MODERN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE



CHURCH OF THE HEAVENLY REST

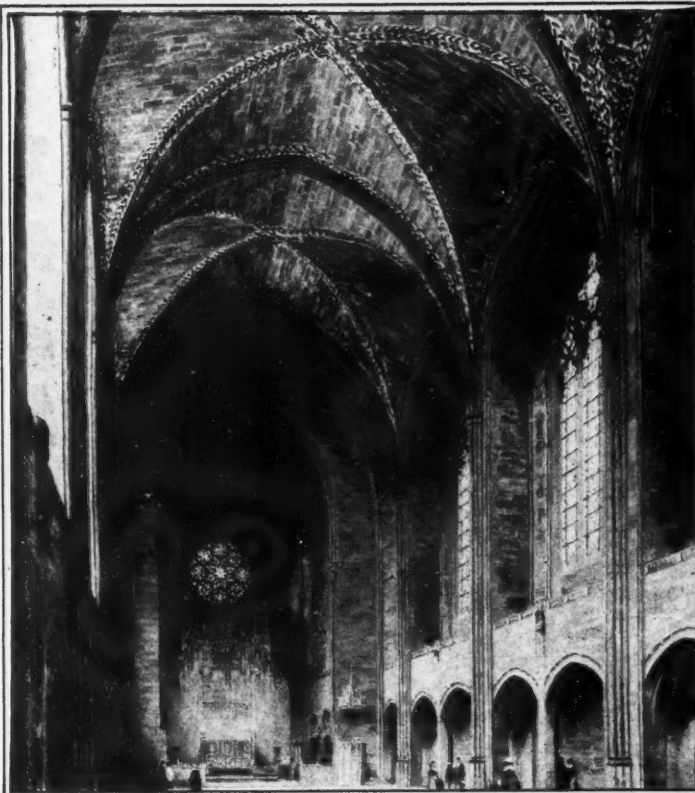
Recently completed
on Fifth Avenue,
New York City.
It simplifies the
traditional Gothic
style and adapts it
to the modern ten-
dency in art
Times Wide World



THE VAULTED INTERIOR

Its chief orna-
ment being an ex-
quisite rose win-
dow designed by
J. Gordon Guth-
rie. Hardie Phil-
lip was chief ar-
chitect of the
church

Courtesy Mayers,
Murray & Phillip



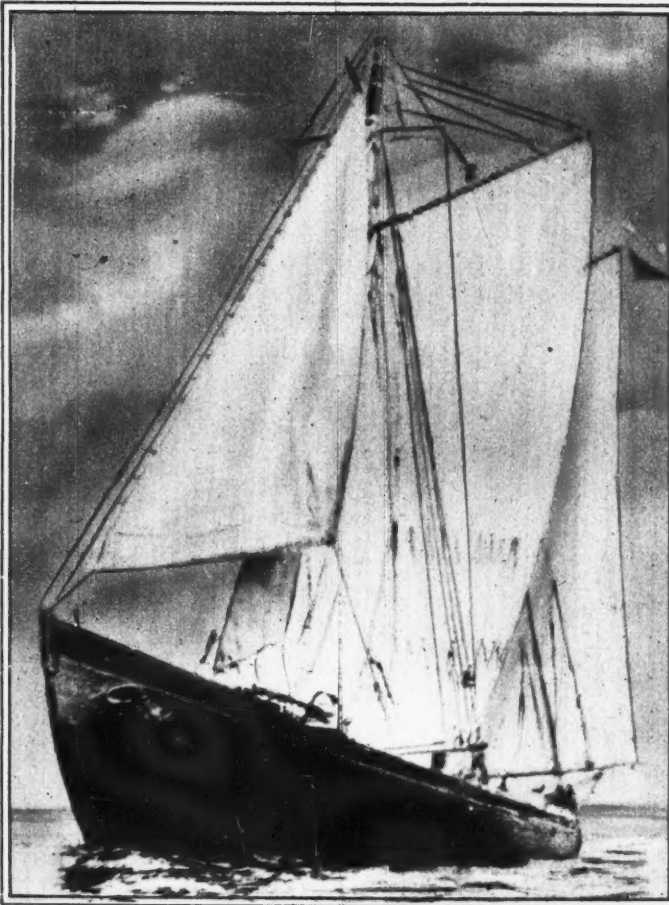
THE SINKING OF A RUM-RUNNER



CREW OF THE I'M ALONE

Who were arrested
and brought to New
Orleans, but were
subsequently
released

Acme



THE CANADIAN SCHOONER I'M ALONE

Which was shelled
and sunk by a United
States revenue cut-
ter off Louisiana
when its captain
refused to permit
search. The sinking
of the schooner has
raised delicate points
of international law

Acme

The Issues of the British General Election

The forthcoming general election, which promises to be one of the most important in the history of Great Britain, is discussed in the articles printed below from the opposing standpoints of Conservatism and Socialism. Sir John Marriott, member of the House of Commons for Oxford City, 1917-1922, and for York since 1923, was formerly a lecturer at Oxford and is the author of numerous works on historical, political and economic subjects. Mr. Rowe, a graduate of the University of London, has been special correspondent of *The London Daily Herald* in Austria and Hungary and is a Labor candidate at the election.

I—The Conservative Program

By SIR JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT

NEVER in my lengthening experience have we been faced with a general election in Great Britain the result of which is more completely incalculable. For this unique uncertainty there is more than one reason. The most obvious one is the addition to the electorate of some 5,000,000 new electors, mostly women under 30 years of age. I am not arguing for or against the change: I merely note that it increases the uncertainty which is rarely absent from a general election.

Another reason for uncertainty is that we shall for the first time feel the full effect of the three-party system, without any of the corresponding safeguard afforded by a second ballot or some similar device. The Liberals announce that they will put 500 candidates in the field; the Socialists will, I suppose, put even more; the Conservative candidates will probably number 600. There are, it should be said, 615 seats in all, of which thirteen are in Northern Ireland.

We have, of course, had to face "third" parties many times in our recent political history. The most formidable "third party" ever seen in the House of Com-

mons was that of the Irish "Repealers," afterward known as Home Rulers or Nationalists. But the Irish Nationalists never intruded (save in a very few isolated cases) into British constituencies; nor did they ever make a bid for numerical equality with Conservatives and Liberals. The most they aimed at was to be a "make-weight," to hold the balance between the British parties. More than once they attained that position. They attained it in 1885 when Mr. Gladstone first announced his conversion to home rule. They attained it in 1910 when they compelled Mr. Asquith to "toe the line" and to pass the Parliament act as a prelude to Irish separatism.

Most people hold the view that a similar make-weight position is the utmost that the Liberals can hope for in the coming election. Probably in their hearts (to which I have no access) the Liberals themselves take that view. But tactically it would be a blunder for them to express it or even to allow their opponents any reasonable ground for the inference. Their determination to run a candidate in most constituencies is not, therefore, to be regarded as a bit of

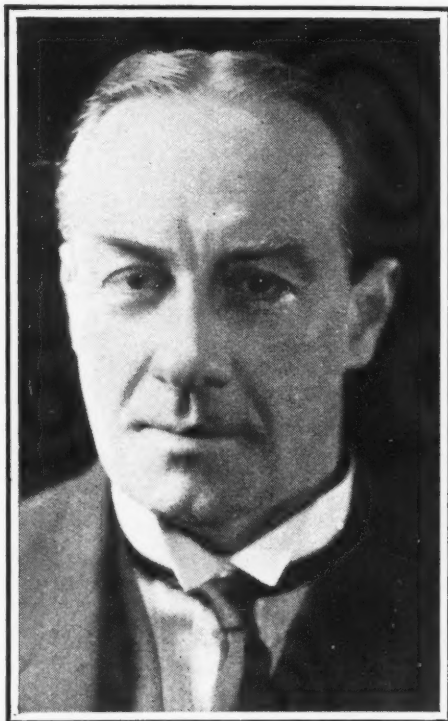
empty braggadocio. It is, in my judgment, sound tactics. They are bidding, or profess to be bidding, for power, even for office. That they will be in a position to claim office, nobody, as far as I can learn, believes. Power they might indirectly obtain, should the election result in a dead heat between Conservatives and Socialists. Many of the quidnuncs profess the belief that this is more than likely to happen.

There is a third reason for the prevailing uncertainty. The present Parliament must legally come to an end before the close of the present year. In other words, it has very nearly reached the limit of its legal life. This is very unusual. Most Parliaments come to a more or less violent end before the legal time is out. The last Parliament was cut off in early youth by a vote of censure. Its predecessor lasted less than a year. The Coalition Parliament (1918-22) was strangled a year before its legal term expired by the revolt of the "die-hard Tories" and a hostile vote at the Carlton Club. Conservative majorities have, as a rule, held together better than the Radicals. Disraeli held office from 1874 to 1880. The Conservatives were in power again without break (though reinforced by the "Khaki" election of 1900) from 1895 to 1905. As a rule, however, some accident befalls a government before a Parliament has run its course.

The present Parliament will not (as far as one can foresee the events of the next six weeks) be killed; it will fade peacefully out of existence. That might be thought to portend a dull and unexciting election. But if the election should lack excitement (and as to that, who can tell?) it certainly will not lack importance. Those, I am sure, are right who insist that rarely if ever have graver issues been put before an electorate.

THE FREE TRADE ISSUE

I speak of "issues," but there is, as I shall presently contend, only one deep and broad issue at stake. Between Liberals and Conservatives there is no broad issue. They are divided on methods, but not really on fundamental principles. The Liberal would, it is true, erect free



Underwood

STANLEY BALDWIN

Head of the Conservative party

trade into such a position; but at this time of day they cannot do it. Most people now admit that fiscal policy is not a matter of principle but of expediency; free trade is not an economic law but a commercial maxim. The Socialists have as a party no very strong convictions on the subject, but the Liberals cling to it rather pathetically as the one thing which connects them with the days of their greatness; they still live in a world dominated by the prospects of the Manchester school and exalted (with the supreme inconsistency permitted to poets) in the stirring poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson. Never did the ideals of the Manchester school find more eloquent expression than in Tennyson's *Ode at the Opening of the International Exhibition of 1851*. That exhibition may indeed be regarded as the apotheosis of the free-trade-pacifists, for they were equally and consistently concerned with peace and trade:

O, ye, the wise who think, the wise who
 reign,
 From growing commerce loose her latest
 chain,
 And let the fair white-winged peace-
 maker fly
 To happy havens under all the sky.
 * Till each man find his own in all men's
 good,
 And all men work in noble brotherhood.

It is pathetic to think how soon war came to dissipate the dream; yet the Radical party of today, though not "pacificist" in the Cobden-Bright sense, clings to the other half of the indivisible ideal.

Those who would appreciate the Liberal position should study what is popularly known as The Liberal Yellow Book, *Britain's Industrial Future; Being the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry* (Ernest Binn, Ltd., 2s. 6d. net). There is much to be learned from it and not a great deal with which I, a Conservative, am disposed to quarrel.

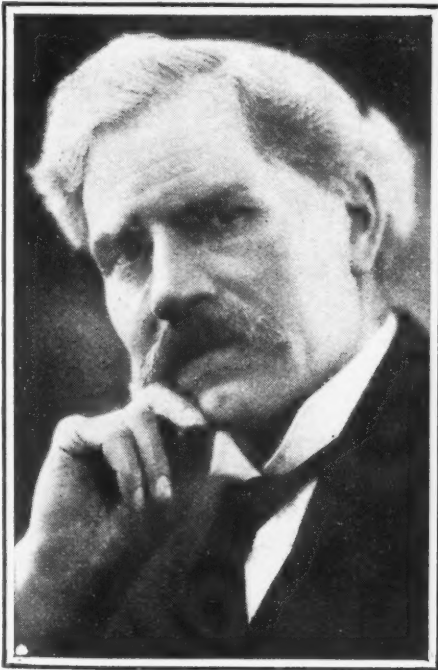
More recently, however, we have had Mr. Lloyd George coming forward with an astounding proposition. He sees, as

every one sees, that overshadowing every other question is the terrible problem of persistent unemployment. *We Can Conquer Unemployment* is the title of a little book which sets forth the official proposals of the Liberal Party in regard to this problem. In a sentence, the prescription is national works on a colossal scale covering roads and bridges, housing, land-drainage, telephone development, electrical development, London passenger transport, and so on. "The work put in hand (I quote from Mr. Lloyd George's speech on March 1 to the Liberal candidates) will reduce the terrible figures of the workless in the course of a single year to normal proportions and will, when completed, enrich the nation and equip it for competing successfully with all its rivals in the business of the world. *These plans will not add one penny to national or local taxation.*" (The italics are, of course, mine.)

I believe that if the electors could be persuaded even of the possibility of the fulfillment of this pledge they would put Mr. Lloyd George in power. They are convinced, on the contrary, that no responsible statesman would ever give such a pledge if he thought there was the slightest chance of his being in a position to fulfill it. They interpret it, in fact, as conclusive proof not only of Mr. George's characteristic recklessness but of his despair of a Liberal victory. Even Mr. Philip Snowden, while approving the proposals in themselves, has declared that a man must be either reckless or ill-informed who would commit himself to the declaration that they alone were going to solve the difficult problem of unemployment. Mr. Lloyd George is both; and I can well believe that his pledge has caused consternation among some of the more responsible Liberals.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM

I turn to the Socialists. They, like the Liberals, have enlightened us as to their intentions. In *Labour and the Nation* we have an official statement of the policy and program of the Socialist party. They do not, by the way, like that label. With sublime audacity they



Bassano, Ltd.

RAMSAY MACDONALD
 Leader of the British Labor party

prefer to be called the Labor party, as though they could claim the exclusive adherence of the "workers" of the country! Some of the wage-earners are Socialists; but many more of them are Conservatives; were it not so, how could the Conservatives ever be in power? For the Socialists, therefore, to claim to monopolize the honorable title of "Labor" is sheer impudence. But let that pass.

Here we have the "Labor" program; and in a foreword to it Mr. Ramsay MacDonald writes: "The Labor party, unlike other parties, is not concerned with patching the rents in a bad system, but with transforming capitalism into socialism." Precisely; so we have a clear issue, and on that issue the election of 1929 will be fought.

Is Great Britain prepared to transform "capitalism" into "socialism"? Before the nation can consent to do so it ought to convince itself on two points: (1) that "capitalism" has failed, and (2) that the alternative organization of society implicit in socialism would succeed.

Labour and the Nation essays to establish both points in the course of fifty-two pages, and it concludes with a summary statement containing no fewer than seventy-two "legislative and administrative measures." Well may Mr. MacDonald describe it as "the formidable list." It is; and it is impossible within the prescribed limits of this article to discuss it in detail. Nor is it necessary. The program may be summarized in two words—confiscation and nationalization.

It is true that the hoped intention of "Labor" is "to carry its policy into completion by peaceful means, without disorder or confusion, with the consent of the majority of the electors and by the use of the ordinary machinery of democratic government." Every one would wish that if we are to have revolution, it may be effected (as, of course, it could be effected) by the use of the ballot box and without violence, by the counting of heads and not the breaking of heads. None the less is the Socialist program, as defined in *Labour and the Nation*, revolutionary.

Let us examine it rather more closely.

It proposes "the utilization for the public benefit of the surplus wealth which too often at once enriches and degrades a small minority of the population." Here "Labor" speaks more truly than it knows or means. It is indeed a tiny fraction of the population which is degraded by the use of surplus wealth. As I have elsewhere pointed out, waste of wealth is not confined to any one class. Moreover, it calls for little skill in arithmetic to perceive that 1 shilling per week "wasted" by 1,000,000 "poor" people, is infinitely more hurtful to the community than £20,000 a year "wasted" by ten millionaires. The former operation results in the waste of £2,600,000, while the latter wastes only £200,000. But the truth is that the Socialist has always got his eyes fixed less on the wealth of the community than on the riches of the rich man, who spends these riches, according to Socialist propaganda, on "riotous living." So the rich man is to be deprived of the means of degradation by a stiff supertax and by still more steeply graded death duties.

Nevertheless, the Socialist party (I again quote from their program) will "use its power to secure to every member of the community the standards of life and employment which are necessary to a healthy and self-respecting existence," and it will do this, as I have said, partly by confiscatory taxation and partly by the gradual nationalization of all public services and of the means of production, distribution, exchange and transport. This is the program (in bare outline, of course) on which the Socialist party will go to the country this Summer.

THE CONSERVATIVE RECORD

What of the Conservatives? Having been in power for four or five years they are, of course, in a different position from either of their rivals. They have not yet formulated a program so definitely as their opponents. Nor need they to the same extent reply on a "program." They can point to a record. What does that record amount to?

In the first place there stands to the credit of the Conservatives an immense body of quiet social legislation, much of



Times Wide World

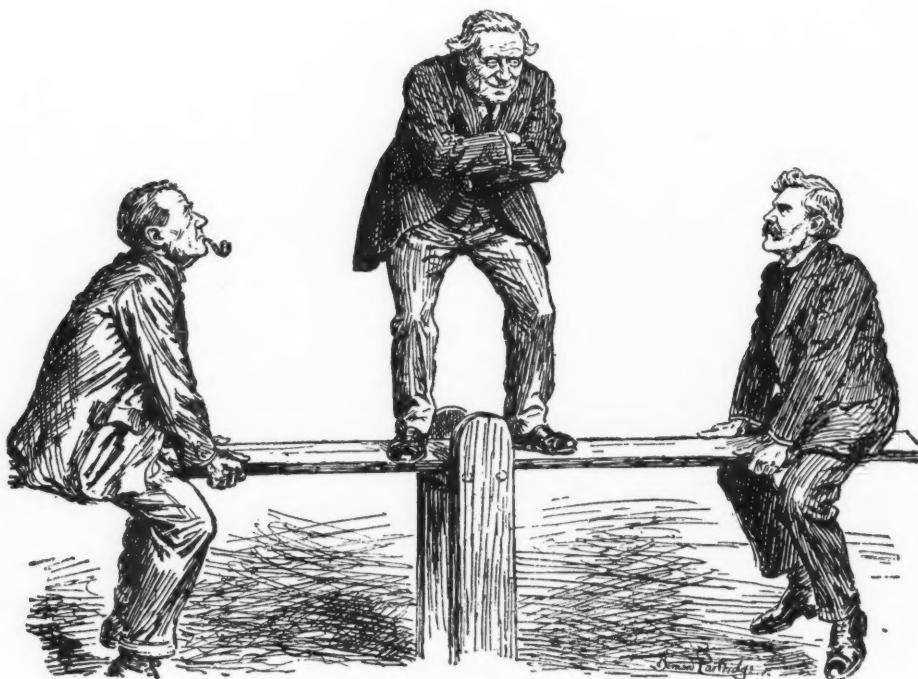
DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

The leader of the British Liberal party, caught in a moment of impassioned oratory

it specially designed to improve the position of women and children. By the guardianship of infants act (1925) we have provided for the equality before the law of the father and mother in all cases regarding the custody, upbringing and property of an infant. Henceforward the first consideration of the court must be the welfare of the child. A similar principle underlies the adoption of children act (1926), which legalizes and provides safeguards for the adoption of children. By the legitimacy act (1926) we have taken precautions that innocent children shall not suffer for the sins of their parents by providing that children born out of wedlock shall be legitimized by the subsequent marriage of their parents. We have also passed measures to prevent short measure or weight in the sale of foodstuffs and to insure the purity of the nation's food; to bring under registration and supervision nursing and maternity homes and to prevent the sick poor, and especially women in childbirth, being subjected to unsuitable treatment by unqualified or incompetent persons; and to provide for the proper treatment of mentally afflict-

ed children. These are not dramatic or heroic measures, but the enactment of these and many similar ones suffices to rebut the baseless charge that the Conservative party is only concerned with the interests of the "rich." Modest though they are, such reforms will do much for the well-being of large classes of people, notably children, who cannot protect themselves.

On a higher scale is Mr. Neville Chamberlain's contribution to the solution of the housing problem. Mr. Lloyd George's budget of 1909 checked the progress of "speculative" buildings; the war stopped it altogether. Consequently we were confronted, after the armistice, with a grievous shortage of houses. Several governments, including the Socialist government of 1924, have tried their hand at the job; Mr. Chamberlain alone has really succeeded at it. Out of 1,000,000 houses built since the armistice more than 700,000 have been built under his administration, and so rapid has been the pace in the last few years that we are at last within sight of a solution of one of the most difficult of post-war problems.



THE WAIT-AND-SEESAW

A cartoon which appeared in London *Punch* in 1923. The situation remains the same in this election, except that Lloyd George takes the place of Asquith in the centre

No less important and impressive is the act (1925) for widows', orphans' and old age pensions. This is based on the contributory principle, the State, the employer and the worker each contributing to the fund, and is closely linked up with the national health insurance scheme. Henceforward every insured worker will secure a pension (irrespective of any other means he may possess) at the age of 65, and, should he die before that age, his widow and children will receive pensions (10 shillings a week for the widow, 5 shillings for the eldest and 3 shillings for all other children under the age of 14). This is a government measure, based on a sound principle, and it will bring a sense of security to every insured worker in the country. That alone would render the Baldwin Government memorable. But it does not stand alone.

When the history of this time comes to be written the year 1926 will stand out, I am confident, as a great landmark. In that year the trade unions declared war on the government, or rather on the

nation. The government had made its preparations, and, splendidly backed by all classes of the nation, it smashed the general strike and dissipated the gravest threat to civil order which has faced us for 300 years. This, I think, should not and will not be forgotten when the appeal to the country is made; nor will the sorry part played in that crisis by the "moderate" Socialist leaders.

Closely connected with this is the act of 1927 designed to secure political liberty for trade unionists and some measure of protection for them and their dependents from the tyranny of picketing. The Socialist program promises the repeal of this act, but I do not think the promise will serve them either among the women who have suffered in strikes nor among the men, Liberal or Conservative, who have been virtually compelled, in order to retain the industrial advantages of trade unionism, to subscribe to the political funds of their opponents.

Finally, there are the measures taken to deal with unemployment. Of these

the most (potentially) important are the safeguarding of certain British industries and the great scheme for the relief of productive industry from local taxation (taxes) and for the reorganization of local government. To expound these schemes in detail would demand a whole article. Moreover, their significance is prospective. I am personally convinced that by the reform of our antiquated and burdensome system of local taxation we have put our finger "on the spot." Our great basic industries — coal, iron and steel, cotton, shipbuilding — were being strangled by the oppressive burden of local taxation. Henceforth they will be relieved to the extent of 75 per cent. But the effect will only gradually be felt. Yet, already we see a silver lining to the dark clouds of trade depression.

The supreme question which in a few weeks Great Britain must answer is this: Will you give the country a chance of reaping the harvest which careful husbandry in the last four years has done much to secure?

Candid friends tell us that we must expect no gratitude from the electors for what we have done; that they will look only to the rival programs of future policy; in fact, that they will regard only promises and will ignore performances.

I do not agree. I admit that with untried electors there is a danger; but it ought not to be beyond the wit of Parliamentary candidates to make it clear that faithful stewardship in the past affords the best hope for the future; above all, that the only chance of a real trade revival lies in the avoidance of wild adventures and rash experiments.

No single remedy will cure unemployment. Morrison-pill remedies (as Carlyle called them) are the device of political quackery; lightning cures are not effected in cases of grave and persistent disease. The wiser the physician, the less he promises. Will democracy impatiently demand a "sign"? Will it turn away from the wise physician and listen only to the advertisements of the quack? I think not; and I advance my opinion the more confidently because I have known nothing more remarkable in my forty years of political life than the quiet, steady advance in public estimation of Mr. Stanley Baldwin. The country is coming to trust him as it has trusted no English statesman since Gladstone. The election of 1929 will turn very largely on his trustworthiness and on the public appreciation of a quiet but remarkable personality.

LONDON, March, 1929.

II—Labor Aims and Policies

By FRANK A. P. ROWE

IN the general election in November, 1924, the first British Labor Government was heavily defeated, and the Conservatives came back to power, with Mr. Baldwin again as Prime Minister. It must be remembered that Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet had, however, held office rather than power, for only some 190 Labor members had been elected to the House of Commons out of a total of 615.

Mr. Baldwin, learning the lesson of the general election of the previous year, wisely dropped his demand for protec-

tion and, aided by the scare of the "Zinoviev Letter," returned to power with an overwhelming majority. Four hundred and twelve Conservatives, 150 Socialists and 40 Liberals were elected to the House of Commons, making its membership as follows:

Conservatives 412; Labor 150; Liberal 40; Independent 5; Constitutionalist 7; Communist 1.

Since 1924 there have been over fifty by-elections, the significant feature of which has been that the Labor party has, pro rata, more than doubled its rep-

resentation. The Socialist vote has usually risen or remained stationary; rarely has it fallen. The Conservative vote has almost always dropped heavily. One of the most recent results is typical. In North Battersea—a London constituency, half working-class and half middle-class—the Conservative vote of 19,000 fell to 11,000, and a Conservative majority of over 5,000 was translated into a Labor victory. The Liberal Party, the party of Gladstone, Cobden and Campbell-Bannerman, is but a shadow of its old self. It is still suffering from the effects of the Asquith-Lloyd George feud and, despite the great efforts made by Sir Herbert Samuel to restore unity, seems doomed to remain at least for some years in the political wilderness. No one with a sense of political reality can visualize the Liberals as an alternative government.

In home affairs the outstanding event since 1924 has been the great coal dispute of 1926. The British coal trade has been languishing since the War, and the coal owners enforced a lock-out in order to secure both a reduction of wages and an increased working day. The government was regarded by the organized workers as little less than an ally of the coal employers, and there followed the general strike. As a consequence of the coal dispute the government passed the Mines (eight hours) Act, which permitted an increase of one hour in the working day of the miners; while as a result of the general strike there was enacted the trades disputes act which has substituted "contracting in" the political levy in place of "contracting out," and has declared illegal both "peaceful picketing" and sympathetic strikes. These two acts of Parliament have undoubtedly alienated the miners and the majority of the organized workers of the country, and are primarily responsible for the many Conservative losses in the by-elections.

Unemployment still remains the outstanding problem and the great blot in British statesmanship. There are probably nearly 2,000,000 unemployed in Great Britain (to the 1,458,000 on the unemployment register for the week end-

ing Feb. 18, 1929, must be added a very large number of men and women who are not eligible to receive unemployment benefit), and the tragic feature is that the depression is most evident in the great staple industries: coal, iron and steel, engineering and shipbuilding, cotton and wool.

THE MEANING OF "SAFEGUARDING"

Mr. Baldwin is pledged not to introduce Protection, and his policy has been to extend "safeguarding," a policy described by his opponents as "Protection by the back door." Conditions necessary to obtaining a safeguarding duty are:

1. The industry must satisfy the Board of Trade through a committee of inquiry that it is of substantial importance.
2. There must be evidence of exceptional foreign competition seriously affecting British employment.
3. The bulk of such foreign competition must be shown to be unfair.
4. The industry must be "reasonably efficient."
5. The proposed duty must not adversely affect employment in another British industry.

Among the industries at present "safeguarded" are motor cars, silk and artificial yarns, clocks and watches, cinematograph films, gloves, cutlery, china, and rubber tires and tubes. The National Union of Manufacturers is steadily pressing for a great extension of safeguarding, and it appears certain that the Conservatives in their election manifesto will accede to this demand.

Against Protection and "safeguarding" the Liberal Party and the Labor Party are united. Thus there appears in the industrial policy proposals adopted by the National Liberal Federation in 1928:

It is vitally important that we should return in full to the system of free trade on which our industrial and commercial activities have hitherto been based and should thus take the lead in giving practical expression to the policy of removing trade barriers unanimously indorsed by the World Economic Conference at Geneva in 1927.

LABOR'S UNEMPLOYMENT SOLUTION

To these sentiments the Labor party agrees, but to it free trade alone is not sufficient, and the Labor election program includes the establishment of a forty-eight hour week and the establishment and enforcement of international



THE GROWL OF THE LAMB

Evening Standard, London

labor standards. The Labor party's further contributions to the gradual solution of the unemployment problem include the immediate raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 15, and the creation of a superannuation scheme for aged miners. Finally, Labor stands for "the establishment of a national economic committee to advise the government as to economic policy, and of a national development and employment board to prepare schemes for the development of national resources."

MINING PROBLEM

Closely linked with the general question of unemployment is that of the mining industry. There are some quarter of a million miners' surplus to requirements, and the recent "hunger marches" from the mining areas, together with the visit of the Prince of Wales to Durham and Northumberland, has once again drawn public attention to their plight. No single domestic issue will arouse more interest during the election than that of the mines. The Conservatives maintain that the industry must be left to work out its own salvation, and argue that the mines (eight hours) act of 1926, by reducing labor costs, has already assisted

it in its fight to recapture the foreign markets that have been lost since the war.

The Liberal party has elaborated its coal policy in its publication *Coal and Common Sense*. This policy includes:

1. State purchase of coal royalties.
2. The administration of the State property in coal by a national commission, which will let out the right to mine the coal to ordinary commercial companies.
3. Amalgamation of pits wherever desirable and the exclusion of small pits from the district ascertainment that determine wages. This exclusion would hasten the closing of uneconomic pits.
4. A system of cooperation and conciliation, including pit committees, district boards and a National Mining Council.
5. A National Wage Board endowed, if necessary, with trade board powers.
6. Profit-sharing and the development of welfare funds.

It will be seen that the Liberal policy on coal involves radical reorganization of the industry, but the changes advocated in the Labor program are even more fundamental. They include the nationalization of the mines, minerals, and coke-oven and by-product plants adjacent to the collieries, and a great national scheme for the development of electrical power. Recruitment of adults from other industries into the mining industry is to

be prohibited, and migration of miners into other districts and other suitable occupations is to be fostered.

CONSERVATIVES PROMISE LOWER TAXES

On domestic issues the Conservatives will include in their election platform a wide extension of "safeguarding." They will ask for approval of their recent de-rating scheme, which is designed to assist British industries by greatly lessening the burden of local taxation. They promise if again returned to power to put into operation a comprehensive scheme of slum clearance and improvement. They will, above all, appeal for a renewed vote of confidence as the supporters of the Constitution against the threat of the general strike and against the perils of socialism.

The Liberal party keeps to the *via media* and pins its faith to the very lucid and comprehensive report of the Liberal industrial inquiry. It will place before the electors a program which will include the legal enforcement of a minimum wage in all industries and the promotion of profit-sharing and copartnership in all private enterprises.

The Labor Party equally with the Liberals will "go to the country" with a clear-cut program of social reform, but of decidedly a more revolutionary character. Unlike the Liberals, they are already pledged to the repeal of the Mines (eight hours) act and to the Trades Disputes act. They advocate the nationalization of the coal, transport, power and life insurance industries as the first step toward the establishment of the socialist commonwealth. They will put forward an advanced social policy, including the raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 15 and ultimately to 16, and with this they will couple maintenance grants to the parents.

FOREIGN POLICY LOOMS LARGE

It is often said that British electors are rarely concerned with questions of foreign policy. The great war has, however, greatly lessened that insular feeling formerly so overwhelming in its confidence. The enormous development of air power with all its attendant hor-

rors has falsified Shakespeare's boast:

This royal throne of Kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-Paradise;
This fortress, built by nature for herself,
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this silver world;
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands.

There can be no doubt that considerations of foreign policy will play a large part in determining the issue of the election. Every thoughtful Englishman is alarmed at the present international situation, and this alarm is due mainly to five causes—the complete rupture with Russia, the failure to evacuate the Rhineland, the breakdown of the Geneva Conference on Naval Disarmament in August, 1927; the Anglo-French Naval Agreement in July, 1928, and the difficult relations with the United States.

The complete severance of diplomatic and economic relations with Russia, although actually occasioned by the government raid on the London office of *Arcois*, had long been expected as an inevitable consequence of the Conservatives' return to power. The Liberals are in favor of resumption of trade, but the Socialists are alone in advocating full diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Government.

The continued occupation of the Rhineland is rightly regarded as a breach of the clause in the Treaty of Versailles providing that, as soon as Germany has satisfied the Allied Powers that she has done her best to carry out her obligations, the military occupation of her soil shall come to an end. Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech at Great Yarmouth, delivered on Oct. 12, 1928, has stressed the danger thus: "The military occupation of the territory of a strong and high-spirited nation by a foreign force is always full of peril."

Both the Liberals and the Socialists favor the immediate evacuation of the Rhineland, and regard its continued occupation as one of the many surrenders of the British Foreign Office to the Quai d'Orsay.

The breakdown of the Geneva Conference on Naval Disarmament was also de-

plored by all progressives. They realized that the United States must accept its share of the responsibility. Considerable prominence had been given in the British press to a speech of Mr. Wilbur, United States Secretary of the Navy, at the graduation ceremonies of the Pennsylvania Military College, when he stressed the necessity of a navy powerful enough to help "in humanity's march of progress and worthy of our flag"—yet they severely condemned the line taken by the British representatives at Geneva. As Professor Gilbert Murray wrote in a letter to *The Manchester Guardian*, the conference "was treated as a departmental conference between the Admiralties, instead of as a matter of high policy between the governments."

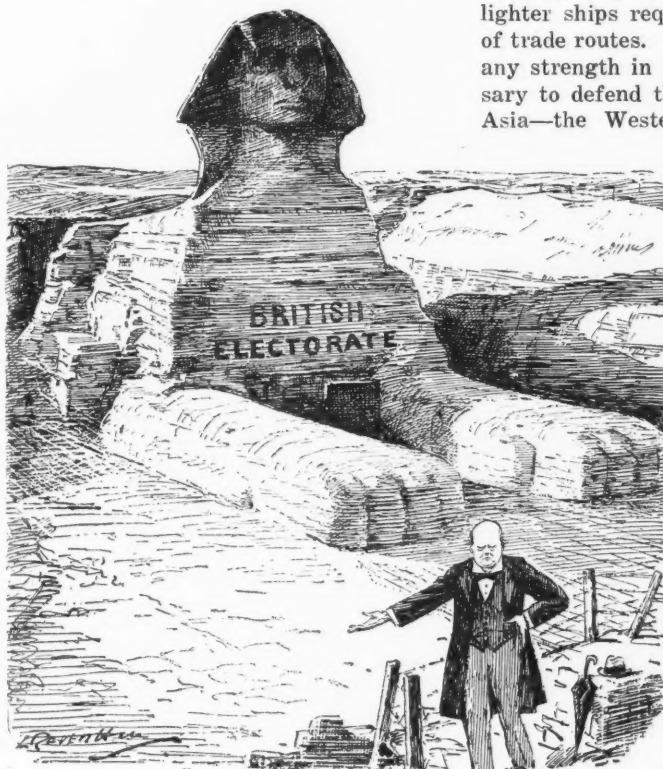
The disquieting conclusion struck home that Great Britain and the United States failed to reach an understanding because

their governments were jealous of one another. The Geneva failure was rightly regarded as a criminal denial of amity between the two peoples and a political blunder of the first magnitude.

The consequent resignation from the government of Viscount Cecil and his statement, "Over and over again I was compelled by my instructions to maintain propositions in the commission which were difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labors," caused grave disquiet, and have undoubtedly dealt a severe blow to Mr. Baldwin's prestige.

Even more alarming than the collapse at Geneva in August, 1927, was Sir Austin Chamberlain's announcement at the end of July, 1928, of a naval agreement with France. At Geneva Britain had accepted the principle of strict parity between the United States and herself only for "fighting cruisers," and not for the lighter ships required for the protection of trade routes. She would not surrender any strength in the light cruisers necessary to defend the three main routes to Asia—the Western, divided again into three routes, Canada, Antilles and South America; the Mediterranean route to the Suez; the Southeastern route from the Suez to Singapore and the Pacific.

This strong line taken by the British representatives at Geneva, together with the imminent signing of the Kellogg Treaty in Paris is undoubtedly accounted for the secret agreement with France. Little was definitely known in England of this pact, but its full significance was soon revealed in the Paris press. The eminent authority on naval



THE DEVOUT SKEPTIC

Mr. Churchill: "I have the profoundest confidence in the good sense of this large, inscrutable and, as I fear, apathetic and untrustworthy monster"

affairs, Mr. René la Bruyère, wrote in *Débats* (quoted in *The Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 10, 1928):

The British Admiralty took alarm and perceived the necessity of a new tactic. * * * That tactic strongly resembles that sort of strategic combination of function amounting in all but name to a naval merger that existed between France and Great Britain before the war. * * * Both countries possess a colonial domain scattered all over the world; both, then, are under the necessity of mobilizing their strength, of defending greatly extended lines of communication. * * * Every ton of warship building that we construct in France is, then, so much to the good for the common protection of the Anglo-French overseas possessions.

The French papers were unanimous that there was a military side to the conversations, and insisted that the pact was conditional upon British acceptance of the French military thesis that in any consideration of the reduction of armed land forces the number of trained reservists should not be taken into account.

The pact must appear to America as a secret arrangement by which Britain, while ostensibly agreeing at least to a measure of naval parity, is in fact adding the French navy to its own.

LABOR PLEDGE TO REVERSE POLICY

The Labor party is fully alive to this menace to world peace, and particularly to its effects upon Anglo-American relations. Labor statesmen realize that behind this naval rivalry lies what Mr. Norman Angell calls "that most dangerous and implacable of all situations, the struggle of two rights." So long as Britain insists upon her interpretation of the freedom of the seas (which to all other nations means the command of the seas), a war with America cannot be regarded as impossible or even improbable.

The American case for an absolutely free field for foreign commerce is a strong one. But the British case, judged from the British viewpoint, is equally strong. To surrender the right of search and capture would be to surrender in favor of her enemy the most powerful, and in most cases the only instrument of defense she possesses. It is just because each country considers its own point of

view so eminently reasonable, that the position is fraught with such grave danger.

The approach of the Conservative and Labor parties to this question has been well revealed in two books published in London during last year. The Conservative policy is clearly defined and well argued by Vice Admiral Sir H. W. Richmond's *Naval Policy and Naval Strength, and other Essays*. In a foreword to Admiral Richmond's book, Lord Sydenham writes:

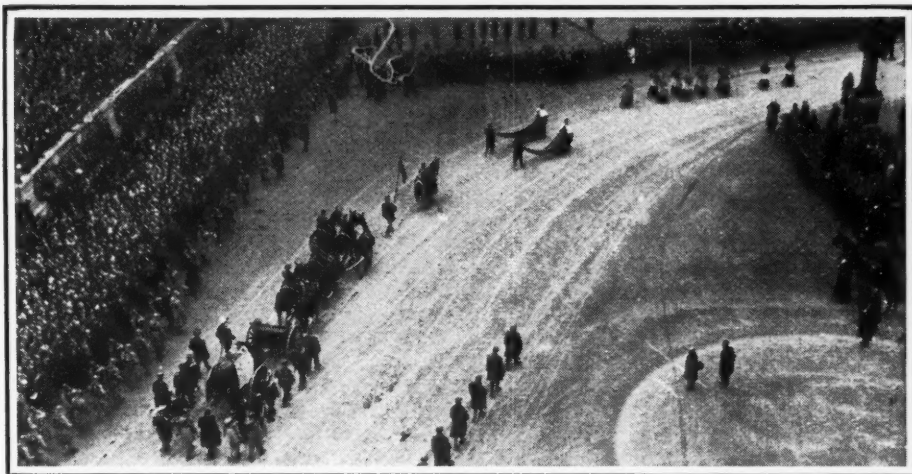
Offa, King of Mercia, in the eighth century, after a glorious reign of nine years, bequeathed to England the useful lesson that he who would be secure on land must be supreme by sea.

The Labor viewpoint is expressed by *The Freedom of the Seas*, by Lieut. Commander J. M. Kenworthy, M. P., and George Young. Their conclusion is:

The British will have to envisage now the eventual renunciation of the right of independent blockade instead of, as now, tacitly recognizing that in future it will be impossible to enforce it without American approval. While the Americans will have to envisage now, eventually recognizing, that freedom of the seas and sea laws cannot be guaranteed without an Anglo-American convention, which will have to be brought into relation with the Covenant of the League.

The authors, both of whom are members of the Labor Party, express clearly the Labor view that an agreement with the United States for a common naval policy is necessary and overdue. This agreement will occasion a much-needed revision of sea law by which contraband can be done away with by the simple expedient of making the supply of munitions a breach of neutrality. The following stages by which complete agreement can be reached are advocated:

1. An inclusive arbitration and conciliation treaty between the United States and Great Britain.
2. A naval disarmament agreement based on financial parity.
3. Regional agreements neutralizing certain naval danger zones, such as the narrow seas.
4. Agreement for naval police operations.
5. A conference on international sea law.
6. The revision of the Covenant of the League of Nations to include freedom of the seas and a form of regional devolution.



Times Wide World

The funeral procession of Marshal Foch traversing the Place de la Concorde in Paris on March 26. Two French Cardinals precede the bier, followed by Foch's horse

The Death of Marshal Foch

WITH the death of Marshal Ferdinand Foch on March 20 at his home in Paris, a great and momentous epoch has ended. While idealists are hoping that the close of this epoch ends for all time the era in world history in which war will figure and dominate, Marshal Foch himself died believing that the phenomenon of war is inevitable in our civilization.

The public life of Ferdinand Foch, like his death, was majestic. Vivid moments in his later history must stand out to this and future generations, presenting a series of tableaux which portray the history of nations as well as the life of an individual hero. Until the Spring of 1918 Foch's life was similar to the lives of many great military men. He was born at Tarbes in the French Pyrenees in 1851. He began his career at a military training school in Metz and when he was 19 saw the humiliating defeat of the French at German hands in 1870. It was perhaps a determining factor in his life, for, in the face of French opinion that Germany

was invincible, Foch studied military strategy until he was able to lay out a plan for defeating Germany. In 1895 he was made a professor in the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, the war college, in Paris, where he delivered the lectures which embodied these studies. In 1910 Georges Clemenceau, then Prime Minister, appointed him Director of the war college. During the early years of the war Foch worked under Marshal Joffre, and his success in the 1914 drive made him so conspicuous that in 1917 he was named Chief of the French General Staff.

The first tableau of world significance in his career is the scene in the Town Hall at Doullens in the Spring of 1918, just eleven years ago, when as a result of incredible reverses representatives of the French and British Governments met to discuss the situation. On the proposal of Lord Milner for the British and with the immediate consent of Field Marshal Haig and General Pershing, Ferdinand Foch was appointed Generalissimo of the Allied and Associated Powers in France. The effect of this on

the morale of the allied armies was almost immediate and in July, 1918, the final drive began. On Aug. 8, 1918, Foch was made a Marshal of France and subsequently a Marshal in Poland and a Field Marshal in Great Britain.

Eight months after his appointment as Commander-in-Chief in November, 1918, came a second great scene, the now famous meeting in the railway carriage at Compiègne. Here in the presence of allied chiefs Ferdinand Foch dictated to German representatives the terms of the armistice which on Nov. 11 Germany accepted. Later Foch sat at the Peace Conference and was one of the warmest advocates of the theory that France must have a military frontier on the Rhine, although he was opposed to French annexation of the Rhine.

Now Marshal Foch has died; the pageant of his death is as dramatic as that of his life. Of all the great war leaders, Joffre, Pershing, Pétain, Hindenburg and Ludendorff only survive. Field Marshal Haig, Field Marshal Wilson and Marshal Cadorna have died. On the evening of the Marshal's death M. Poincaré announced it to the Chamber of Deputies. The news was received with a tribute of silence, followed immediately by the passing of two bills which authorized Foch's burial in Les Invalides, Paris, and 300,000 francs for a national funeral. Only five times before in the history of the French Republic has such a funeral been given—to Léon Gambetta in the early days of the Republic, to Victor Hugo, to President Carnot, Louis Pasteur and President Faure, and never before has there been such world-wide mourning for any man—in the United States, in Great Britain, in Belgium, in Italy and in the Balkan States.

For one day, from early Sunday morning to late that night, Marshal Foch lay under the Arc de Triomphe, beside the Unknown Soldier, to receive the tribute of the French nation. It was a moving scene. Hour after hour a line of people filed by the coffin, while the vast crowds stood patiently and silently packed around the Arc de Triomphe and filled all the avenues which led up to it. Tuesday morning the funeral service

was held in Notre Dame. This is the third great picture in the Marshal's history. The cathedral was filled by representatives of all the nations, while for a brief three-quarters of an hour a solemn low mass was celebrated. With the elevation of the host the bugle call of "*Aux Champs*" rang out through Notre Dame. The church was draped in black, but the vivid colors of flags, of military uniforms and of the robes of church officials made a striking contrast.

From Notre Dame Marshal Foch passed for the last time over the route to Les Invalides. It was a magnificent spectacle, with a sombre and solemn difference from the victory parade eleven years ago over the Champs Elysées, when Field Marshal Haig, Field Marshal Wilson, Marshal Cadorna and Marshal Joffre marched behind the triumphant commander. From the cathedral the funeral procession marched down the Rue de Rivoli to the Place de la Concorde, up the Champs Elysées to the Pont Alexandre III and across the river to the gates of Les Invalides. The procession was led by the Garde Républicaine of Paris, by American veteran troops, Belgian troops, the English Coldstream Guards, Italian troops and troops from the other allied nations. Just before the gun carriage bearing Marshal Foch's coffin marched two of the three French Cardinals in their scarlet robes, followed by bishops and archbishops. Behind the coffin marched the pallbearers, all of them high officials of the allied powers, among them General Pétain and General Pershing. Behind them rode Mme. Foch, her daughters and grandchildren; then marched President Doumergue, the Prince of Wales, with Prince Charles of Belgium and Prince Pierre of Monaco on either side; behind them the Ambassadors of the nations and then M. Poincaré, followed by Senators, Deputies, members of the Académie Française, the Légion d'Honneur and the Institut de France.

POINCARE'S TRIBUTE

There is a final great tableau in the life of this man. Before the gates of Les Invalides his coffin lay in state hold-

ing its last review. Here M. Poincaré made the only speech in all the long, impressive ceremonies. To all the dignitaries assembled M. Poincaré, the war President, paid a final tribute to Marshal Foch, the war commander:

It is only now that he has passed away that we realize that this flame which has gone out was one of the most ardent, one of the purest which has ever thrown its light across the world. He had all the essential characteristics of a hero, valor, magnanimity, natural kindliness, vivacity, penetration, grandeur, and the simplicity of genius. Above all, he possessed that inestimable gift of piety. More than any man, he knew that in doing great things one must think only of doing the right and leave the glory to come after the good.

Without having sought honor, he was carried to the command of millions of men of many nations, and he led a whole people into a battle without pride, but with a feeling of moral obligation, not for conquest but for the deliverance of his invaded country.

He had no other ambition than to serve. He sought no other reward than the feeling of duty well done. That is why the grief which we feel today is not only the grief of those who knew him and loved him, of those who saw him at work and served under his orders. It is the grief of all France and of the greatest part of civilized humanity.

In peace, as in war, he sought nothing except to serve at the post which was assigned to him. He was watchful and

attentive, but there was nothing in his nature of imperialism, of bitterness or hate. He had that strength to see himself as feeble before eternity, and to be able to attribute to divine generosity these merits which he made glorious.

Let us bow our heads before the sacred remains of him who, in serving France, served humanity, and who, with life eternally renewed, will live in the hearts of posterity.

After the speech, the representatives of all the armies filed past the coffin in a final salute; the coffin was taken into Les Invalides and placed beside that of Napoleon. Two days later Marshal Foch lay buried in the Chapel of St. Ambroise, among the great military leaders of France.

The great Marshal's death caused profound emotion all over the world. A significant gesture was made by King Albert of the Belgians, who immediately on hearing of Foch's death took a special train from Brussels to Paris to offer in person his sympathy and condolences. German comment was, of course, the most interesting. The day after his death all the German papers announced it in leading headlines, saying, "Germany's greatest enemy is dead." For the first few days German leaders would



Times Wide World

The body of Marshal Foch lying in state beside that of the Unknown Soldier, under the Arc de Triomphe, in Paris

make no comment. It was a delicate situation; praise of the great Frenchman on the part of German statesmen would call down criticism from the Nationalists, nor could they, being sportsmen, refrain from any notice whatever. General von Seeckt, father of the Reichswehr, has represented the present good feeling between France and Germany by saying: "Death, which knows no nationality, permits a former enemy to lower his sword before the body of Marshal Foch, who was a great soldier and a great Frenchman." The general opinion in the German newspapers was that Marshal Foch was Germany's greatest enemy and most irreconcilable foe. Baron von Lersner, one of the delegates at Compiègne, insisted in a statement that, although to the bitter end Foch was Germany's enemy, it was America's strength rather than French strategy which defeated Germany. Generally the French nation was deeply impressed by the lack of bitterness in Germany and by the generous praise in Austria. In Prague there was some demonstration by the German members of the Landtag who left a meeting when a Czech member made a speech in honor of Marshal Foch.

In the United States and in Great

Britain memorial services were held in St. Patrick's Cathedral and in Westminster Abbey. The United States Army paid its tribute to Marshal Foch in a general order issued by General Summerall, Chief of Staff. This read in part:

In deepest sorrow, the death of Ferdinand Foch, the Marshal of France, and Generalissimo of the allied and associated armies in the World War, which occurred March 20, 1929, is announced to the army.

The sense of loss felt by the armed forces of the United States is as great as it is among his soldiers and comrades of France.

We mourn with the great Republic of France which gave the world a Foch.

As appropriate honors to the memory of this distinguished soldier, at dawn, Tuesday, March 26, 1929, the day of the funeral, a salute to a Marshal of France of twenty-one guns will be fired at each military post, and afterward at intervals of thirty minutes between the rising and the setting of the sun a single gun.

The national flag will be displayed at half staff at corps area and department headquarters and at all military posts, camps and stations, and on all buildings and vessels under control of the War Department during the day of the funeral.

At the funeral in Paris the United States Government was represented by Ambassador Myron T. Herrick (who died on March 31), and the army by General Pershing.

President Hoover's Cabinet

Intimate Sketches

By WILLIAM C. MURPHY Jr.

CHIEF OF SENATE STAFF, *The United States Daily*, WASHINGTON

IT is no easy task to spend more than \$4,500,000,000 a year, but it is one of the things the President of the United States is called upon to do. That is the principal reason why a President needs a Cabinet, and why the selection of Cabinet personnel is, perhaps, the most important action a President has to take at the outset of his administration. The men he chooses then may make or break his political fortunes.

There are various theories about Cabinet-making. Some Presidents, like Wilson and Coolidge, have inclined to the idea that Cabinets are little more than groups of hired men, placed in office to do the bidding of the President. Others, of whom President Harding was a noteworthy example, take a different view, and hold that each Cabinet officer should have considerable latitude in the administration of his own department, subject, of course, to the necessity of remaining in harmony with the broad general policies of the President.

President Hoover, it seems, has adopted a middle ground between these two theories. He has some strong independent figures in his Cabinet but, except for his Secretary of the Treasury, who is not expected to be a permanent fixture, these men are not in charge of what might be termed the policy-making departments.

The history of any administration is determined, for the most part, by circumstances beyond the control of the President. The vagaries of Congress, developments in international affairs, and the currents of domestic politics, all play their respective and often deter-

mining parts. So it is futile, at the beginning of any administration, to venture predictions that specific things will or will not be done. It is more pertinent to attempt a visualization of the characters and abilities of the men placed in charge of governmental affairs, so that some idea may be obtained as to their probable reactions as various situations develop. All of which leads up to an inquiry as to what characteristics of each appointee induced President Hoover to select Henry L. Stimson for Secretary of State, Andrew W. Mellon for Secretary of the Treasury, James W. Good for Secretary of War, Walter F. Brown for Postmaster General, William D. Mitchell for Attorney General, Charles Francis Adams for Secretary of the Navy, Ray Lyman Wilbur for Secretary of the Interior, Arthur M. Hyde for Secretary of Agriculture, Robert Patterson Lamont for Secretary of Commerce and James J. Davis for Secretary of Labor.

HENRY L. STIMSON

The appointment of Mr. Stimson as Secretary of State may be taken as an indication that the foreign policy of the Hoover Administration will have a more aggressive tone than that of its predecessor. To be sure, that is not a very significant indication. It would be difficult to imagine a policy which would not be more aggressive than that which made its one outstanding bid for immortality by inducing other nations to endorse the Fifth Commandment, phrased in diplomatic verbiage.

While Mr. Stimson may be expected

to inject more vitality into the conduct of foreign relations, it will not be a vitality growing out of his own initiative. The new Secretary of State is, primarily, an attorney. His chief concern is always to represent his client to the latter's best advantage, and he has been very successful in that respect. His recent appearances on the stage of public affairs have demonstrated, also, that he has the attorney's adeptness in straightening out the affairs of a client who has become involved in difficulties.

When an impasse had been reached in Nicaragua, Mr. Stimson was called upon by President Coolidge to go to that country and bring about a settlement. Mr. Stimson was successful, superficially at least; he engineered a cessation of hostilities between the Liberals and Conservatives—after giving the former their choice between voluntary disarmament alive or involuntary disarmament at the hands of American marines. But, at least, he did arrange matters so that the United States could, if so minded, withdraw the marines from Nicaragua with dignity. It cannot be denied, however, that his participation in the Nicaraguan episode has not been conducive to his popularity throughout Latin America—a circumstance which does not harmonize with the many predictions that the Hoover foreign policy is to be grounded upon the idea of promoting more cordial relationships with the republics of the Western Hemisphere. Somewhat similar was Mr. Stimson's experience as Governor-General of the Philippines. He brought about a more tranquil situation in the islands, and promoted measures to make the Philippines an attractive field for American capital. If his achievements there mean anything, however, they mean permanent retention of American sovereignty over the islands—a policy which may turn out to be more agreeable to the Filipino leaders, who would lose their chief political issue if American sovereignty were withdrawn, than to the Filipinos generally. Both in the Philippines and Nicaragua, however, Mr. Stimson won his case for his client.

The fact that Mr. Stimson is a former

law partner and close friend of Elihu Root is sufficient description of his attitude toward the World Court which, as this is written, seems destined to be the first important issue which he will be called upon to meet as Secretary of State.

When Mr. Stimson was Secretary of War under President Taft he was noted for his ardent devotion to horseback riding, and his picture in the War Department shows him in riding breeches.

SECRETARY MELLON

Secretary Andrew W. Mellon, who has administered the affairs of the Treasury Department for eight years under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, is a representative of a fast vanishing race. He is a product of the fierce, unrestrained competition which accompanied the industrialization of American civilization. A contemporary and compeer of those hardy individualists who held feudal sway over American industry at the turn of the century, he seems lonely among the present-day captains of finance and business with their talk of "cooperation" and "service." A genius of high finance, who arrives at the Treasury in a taxicab and borrows the fare from a colored messenger, and who calls upon his secretary to ascertain if he owns a valuable business site for which he has been offered several hundred thousand dollars:

Mr. Mellon is 74 years old. Probably he will not remain in the Cabinet long; it is inconceivable that he would want to serve for another four years, although his simple habits of life have given him a vitality which makes that possible.

THE NEW WAR SECRETARY

Although the services of James W. Good during the campaign had injected his name into pre-inauguration discussions of Cabinet possibilities, his selection as Secretary of War was somewhat of a surprise. This post, it will be recalled, was one of the last on the Hoover slate to be filled, and there is nothing in Mr. Good's record to suggest his name for that particular position.

It may be, however, that President Hoover, seeing no signs of war in the

immediate future, wishes to use his Secretary of War as a liaison officer between the White House and the Capitol. If so, the President chose wisely in selecting Mr. Good. The latter served for twelve years in the House of Representatives; he is familiar with the workings of the intricate law machine on Capitol Hill; moreover, he has a personal acquaintance with the men who operate the machine. This background of legislative experience, coupled with the political ability which Mr. Good demonstrated during the recent campaign, should be of great assistance in helping the new Chief Executive over the most difficult hurdle which confronts every incoming President—the establishment of amicable cooperation with Congress.

Secretary Good is a smooth-speaking, self-assertive, but withal, likable, individual. He has the politically valuable asset of being able to conceal any sense of humor which he may possess. Last Spring, when Mr. Good was laboring night and day to stir up pre-convention sentiment favoring the nomination of Mr. Hoover, he was called before the Senatorial committee which was prying into the various budding candidacies. Time after time Mr. Good—notwithstanding sarcastic interruptions from Democratic, and some Republican committee members—launched into glowing accounts of how his organization was merely coordinating “the spontaneous uprising” of Hoover enthusiasm which he had been striving mightily and successfully to create. He did it all without so much as a twinkle of amusement in his eye, but it was done so inoffensively that no sore spots remained. Mr. Good should make a useful and safe Cabinet officer.

ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL

Attorney General William D. Mitchell is one of the two “clean-up” members of the Hoover Cabinet, the other being Secretary Wilbur of the Department of the Interior. Mr. Mitchell's first and most important job will be to rid the Department of Justice of the aroma still hanging over it from the Daugherty-Jesse Smith régime. He seems to be

well qualified for this work of purification.

In the first place he is honest, courageous and vigorous. Moreover, he is an excellent lawyer and a capable administrator. His honesty will tell him what to do, his courage will permit him to undertake it, his vigor will make it possible for him to carry it through, his knowledge of law will tell him how to do it and his administrative ability will tell him how to maintain the results he may attain.

There are two other factors in Mr. Mitchell's favor, his political background and his attitude on prohibition. He lists himself in *Who's Who* as a Democrat, but he has voted for at least three Republican Presidents. Hence, he has no political machine affiliations which might handicap his attempts to restore public confidence in his department. As to prohibition, he is not known to be an ardent dry, nor has he ever indicated any distaste for Volsteadism. But he has always maintained that laws should be enforced—an attitude which even the enthusiastic wets do not challenge. It would be impossible to imagine Mr. Mitchell following the example of a former exalted legal representative of the government who, when pleading for the government before the Supreme Court of the United States, concluded by telling the court that he had advanced the best arguments he could think of, but that he would “be very much surprised if the court should concur in my conclusions.”

It should not be forgotten that Mr. Mitchell's democracy, such as it is, is of value to the Hoover Administration as well as to the new Attorney General. Should Mr. Mitchell fail to clean up his department or to give satisfaction to either the official or the unofficial government in the enforcement of prohibition, it would be easy to raise the cry of “what could you expect from a Democrat?” But those who know Mr. Mitchell are not apprehensive on that score; they feel that before any occasion for such remarks can arise, he will have made a record that will be very difficult to attack. At any rate, as might have been said of Hercules when he started to

clean the Augean stables, if he does anything at all it will be an improvement.

THE NEW POSTMASTER GENERAL

"The Czar of Toledo" is the title by which Postmaster General Brown is known throughout Ohio. That title, incidentally, carries implications which are pertinent in an appraisal of Mr. Brown's character and ability. To be a czar one must have devoted supporters and—quite probably—bitter opponents, and this is particularly true of a czardom that is not inherited, but self-created. In Toledo no one is indifferent to Walter Brown. Every one is either for him or against him, and the fact that he has remained the czar for a considerable number of years indicates that a majority of his fellow-townsmen are for him. From all of which it is to be deduced that he is a forceful character.

Also he is a very astute politician. He was Republican State Chairman from 1906 to 1912, but strayed from the fold with Roosevelt in 1912 to become State Chairman of the Bull Moose party. It was not long, however, before he returned to the ranks of the orthodox, and in 1920 he was an active participant in the movement which resulted in the nomination and election of Warren G. Harding. He stood fast for Harding, even though he was offered the State chairmanship of the campaign on behalf of the late Leonard Wood, then looked upon as the legatee of the Roosevelt Progressive following. But while Mr. Brown supported Harding, he was not a member of the justly famed "Ohio gang" which attached itself to the late President's administration and did much to discredit it. Mr. Brown and Mr. Daugherty never saw eye to eye in politics.

Because he served as chairman of the joint Congressional committee on reorganization of the government departments during the early days of the Harding Administration, Mr. Brown is credited with a more comprehensive knowledge of the complicated executive machinery of the Federal Government than any other man in Washington. This qualification, undoubtedly, was one of

the factors which determined the President to call Mr. Brown into the Cabinet, for Mr. Hoover has long been an advocate of a thorough overhauling of the cumbersome mass of bureaus, departments and commissions which clutter up the Capitol.

The Postmaster General has three hobbies, cooking, animals and children. He likes to go into the kitchen and prepare complex dishes for the delectation of his friends. As outlets for his other hobbies, he is president of the Toledo Humane Society, and a trustee of the Lucas County (Toledo) Children's Home. In both of these enterprises he has taken an active part during the time he could spare from his duties as czar.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS—NAVY

President Hoover has shown that he still has faith in Massachusetts, notwithstanding that Commonwealth's performance in the November election, by the selection of Mr. Adams as Secretary of the Navy. Although, before his appointment to the Cabinet, Mr. Adams's highest official position was that of Mayor of Quincy, Mass., he has adapted himself easily to the more exalted official atmosphere of Washington. Perhaps such adaptation comes readily to a man whose family has furnished two Presidents of the United States, as well as other distinguished public servants.

Coming of a race which has traditionally "gone down to the sea in ships," Mr. Adams is the most thoroughly sea-going Secretary of the Navy in modern times. He is an enthusiastic yachtsman who commanded the *Resolute* when it won the international races in 1920, as well as the *Atlantic*, which finished second in King Alfonso's transatlantic races of 1928. Among his yachting confrères he is noted for an insistence upon the most meticulous observance of the rules of the sea, a characteristic which should endear him to some of the naval officers over whom he now holds command.

Secretary Adams is a combination of sportsman and big-business executive, decisive in his mannerisms, and with all the reserve and innate conservatism of

the rocky coasts from which he comes. In his early days the Secretary developed a penchant for extremely high standing collars, which earned for him the sobriquet of "The Deacon," which did not fit so well on a thoroughly sea-going person. Whether the title was responsible or not, he gave up this sartorial habit, but when he was chosen for his present position, some of his earlier photographs—with collar—were resurrected and published.

There is in Mr. Adams's make-up a slightly un-Puritanical strain, which found expression on the day he was sworn in as Secretary. It was while he was undergoing his initiation by the Washington news photographers, an aggregation who would not hesitate to ask Napoleon to repeat the battle of Waterloo to suit their convenience. Mr. Adams had been photographed and rephotographed, he had been photographed alone and photographed with every one else who happened to be available. Finally some inspired knight of the lens and shutter ordered (just that) the Secretary to sit at his desk and be photographed in the act of writing some important order. The Secretary obeyed with due meekness, and while this ritual was proceeding, one of the officials of the department looked over the new Secretary's shoulder to see that an historic pronouncement was being penned.

"This is hell, this is hell," were the words which the official saw being inscribed with all dignity and precision on the sacred official stationery.

"Mr. Secretary," he asked, "Would you mind autographing that for me?"

"With pleasure," said the Secretary, and did so.

Whether Mr. Adams is a "big navy" or a "little navy" man is not yet disclosed. But whatever the number of ships he favors, there is one thing that he may be expected to insist upon; namely, that such ships as are in commission shall be thoroughly modern and in seaworthy condition. He demonstrated this a day or so after he took office, when he went to the Washington Navy Yard and inspected the yacht Sylph, the use of which has been one of the alleged

prerogatives of the Secretaries of the Navy for many years. Mr. Adams looked at the Sylph, casually; perhaps he compared it with the Resolute or the Atlantic. At any rate, orders were issued forthwith that the Sylph should be junked. Only a few days later President Hoover ordered the Presidential yacht Mayflower out of commission.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR—INTERIOR

When Dr. Wilbur was appointed Secretary of the Interior, there was a feeling in Washington that the President was doing the gracious thing by his old time college mate at Leland Stanford. While there was no disposition to question Dr. Wilbur's ability to fill this high executive position, there was, on the contrary, no outstanding apparent reason why he should have been chosen. But his first few days in Washington did much to dispel the illusion that his was merely a friendship appointment.

The impression is now gaining ground that Mr. Hoover had decided that it was time for the Interior Department to be given a thorough overhauling, and that he chose a man with unusual abilities as an investigator and administrator, as well as one in whom the President could repose implicit confidence, to do this job. Dr. Wilbur had not been on duty a week before his subordinates in the department were referring to the "executive buzz-saw" in the Secretary's office.

The Department of the Interior is a sprawling kind of organization into which have been dumped various odds and ends of executive machinery, often with no better reason than that no other place could be found to put them. It has custody of the reindeer herd in Alaska and administers pensions to Civil War veterans. In between times it cares for the natural resources of the nation—oil, forests, public lands—watches over the government's Indian wards and administers the Bureau of Education. Moreover, it has supervision over an insane asylum and a colored university in the District of Columbia. The department had acquired a questionable odor during the famous Fall-Doheny-Sinclair transactions in government oil reserves, and

the odor had not been eradicated entirely when Mr. Hoover became President. In fact, there had been a flare-up just before the November election, growing out of Secretary Work's action in renewing the royalty oil contract with the Sinclair Crude Oil Purchasing Company—the renewal being held invalid by the Department of Justice. Doubtless the President felt it was time for a housecleaning, or at least a reorganization, and Dr. Wilbur seems to be a happy selection for that work.

The Interior Secretary is a man whose friends have often compared his physical appearance with that of Abraham Lincoln. He is a physician and has held high offices in medical organizations, and he won recognition as an assistant to Mr. Hoover in the days of the war-time Food Administration. But his chief demonstration of ability as an organizer and administrator was the manner in which he piloted Leland Stanford University through the troublous post-war period. He has been president of that institution since 1916.

Like his former college mate, to whom he owes his present office, Dr. Wilbur was forced to work his way through college. Out of this circumstance he evolved the conviction that he could get what he wanted by working for it and going after it. After he had developed a substantial medical practice in San Francisco, and incidentally had acquired a family, he decided that his medical education required a rounding out by study in Europe. So he saved his money, went abroad in 1903, and studied in London and at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Six years later he went abroad again for further study at the University of Munich.

The Wilbur family is one of pioneers. Eight of the Secretary's ancestors fought in the Revolutionary War, and since Revolutionary days the family has followed the expansion of the nation westward until it reached the Pacific Coast.

Out of his medical practice and his economic studies, Secretary Wilbur has developed a hobby in the problem of making it possible for young married couples of limited means to obtain proper medical services. He points out

that it is this class which suffers from lack of proper attention more than the rich who can pay exorbitant fees, or the poor who do not hesitate to accept free medical service. This idea, because of its possible trend toward "public medicine," is considered highly heretical in more conservative circles, but Dr. Wilbur has not been discouraged on that account.

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Former Governor Hyde of Missouri, now Secretary of Agriculture, is another member of the Hoover Cabinet whose Republicanism has not always been strictly orthodox. In 1912—the same year that Postmaster General Brown managed Roosevelt's campaign in Ohio—Mr. Hyde headed the siren trumpetings of the Bull Moose and ran for State Attorney General on the Progressive ticket. He was defeated, but eight years later, when he had returned to the ranks of Republicanism, he was elected Governor—the second Republican Governor of Missouri since the Civil War.

The outstanding characteristic of Secretary Hyde is his frankness, which in Washington has all the charm of the unusual. At his first press conference with Washington newspaper men, he was asked what would be the attitude of his department toward one of the many agricultural bills which had been before Congress during the previous administration. Mr. Hyde has been in public office long enough to know that the conventional formula or reply would have been:

"That has not yet been determined," or, "The matter is still under consideration."

But he did not use either of these formulae.

"I don't know," he said, and added:

"That's not reticence; it's ignorance."

Secretary Hyde was fortunate in that he did not assume office imbued with the idea that he had knowledge of some magic panacea for all the ills of agriculture. He does know something about agriculture, for he is a successful farmer. Of more importance, however, since the farm problem is not how to produce

crops but how to take care of surplus production, the new Secretary is also a successful business man and lawyer. Although he was a pre-convention supporter of former Governor Lowden, Mr. Hyde never joined the former in the chase for the equalization fee mirage.

The new Secretary of Agriculture keeps his feet on the ground, and the office needs a man of such habits at present as never before. For the idea of solving the farm relief problem has attracted almost as much inventive genius as has the quest for perpetual motion, and much of the same character of genius formerly devoted to the one problem is now concentrated on the other.

ROBERT P. LAMONT—COMMERCE

Doubtless the past eight years convinced President Hoover that an engineer makes a good Secretary of Commerce, so he chose Robert Patterson Lamont for that position in his Cabinet.

In addition to being an engineer, Mr. Lamont is also a business executive and a banker. He is typical of the modern executive of the higher type. Quiet, spare, reserved, healthy are some of the adjectives which he calls to mind. He is a man who can be expected to cause important things to happen in an unobtrusive way, and then be very much surprised that any one should think his achievements were unusual. Probably it will be something of a strain upon his patience and good nature to have to listen to the continual babble of babbitts from visitors who are always calling at the Department of Commerce to prate of "service," while trying to dig up some information of value in overreaching a competitor.

But Secretary Lamont is good humored. He proved that the day after President Hoover had delivered his "bone-dry" inaugural address. From some obscure corner of a newspaper morgue came the information that the dry President's successor as Secretary of Commerce was a director of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. It seemed for a time that this incident contained the germs of a major

scandal at the outset of an administration which came in with the benediction of all the dry organizations in the country.

However, Mr. Lamont grinned cheerfully and admitted the charge (as it was considered), and then the furor subsided.

JAMES J. DAVIS—LABOR

Secretary James J. Davis owes his continuation as Secretary of Labor to the fact that he has fewer enemies than any of the other potential candidates for this position. When it is remembered that Mr. Davis has been Secretary of Labor for eight years, including some crucial industrial controversies, that statement is not exactly derogatory.

Mr. Davis is the only member of the Hoover Cabinet who never attended college. Of course, he has numerous honorary degrees—every Cabinet member can have as many of them as he is willing to make speeches for, and Mr. Davis is not reticent.

When his Cabinet confrères were going to college, Secretary Davis was learning to be an iron puddler in the mills of Sharon, Pa., and Elwood, Ind. He is as proud of his alma mater as any of his Harvard colleagues in the Cabinet are of theirs. But he learned about things other than the handling of molten metal in the mills. He learned to understand human nature and the value of organization. Out of it all came a very competent administrator, and one of the cleverest politicians of the Harding-Coolidge entourage.

"Puddler Jim," as he likes to be called, is not particularly popular with either organized labor or the employing interests, but neither of these groups has shown any antipathy toward him, which, perhaps, is the ideal situation for a man in his position.

If this were an autobiographical article about Mr. Davis, it would include the statement that he is Director General of the Loyal Order of Moose, which he joined at Crawfordsville, Ind., in October, 1907, and which has grown from a membership of 247 (including Mr. Davis) to 750,000.



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The Plight of the Efficient Farmer

By ARTHUR P. CHEW

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

AMONG people who have no first-hand knowledge of the subject one hears either that the American farmer is not efficient or that he is too efficient for his own good. These contradictory ideas occasionally occupy watertight compartments in the same head. A banker, pouring scorn recently on the farmer's demand for relief legislation, declared the average farmer is only half efficient and works only half the time. Almost in the next breath he propounded the theory that the present relatively low prices of farm products result from overproduction by modern methods. It does not always follow that one of two apparently contradictory ideas must be wrong; each may imperfectly represent a different aspect of the truth. What is there to be said about these contradictory ideas regarding agriculture? Is the farmer losing money by sticking to out-of-date practices, or by going ahead too fast and thus oversupplying his market? Or are both these tendencies manifested by different groups of

farmers? One school of economists contends that contemporary progress in agricultural efficiency threatens great numbers of farmers with loss of their jobs, while another sees no occasion for alarm, but only for rejoicing when two blades of grass grow where one grew before.

As to the general charge that the American farmer is not efficient, we have the testimony of the United States Department of Agriculture that it is not true. A study made before the war indicated that the average output per person directly employed in agriculture was 159 per cent greater for the United States than for four leading European countries—the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium and France. Since the war the productivity of the average individual worker in American agriculture has been increased more than 15 per cent. In production per unit of labor expended the supremacy of the American farmer is probably greater today than ever before. European countries obtain higher yields per acre, but only by an extra expenditure of man labor propor-

tionately much greater than the increase in yields. This seems to dispose of the allegation that American agriculture is inefficient.

The idea that the farmer is too efficient arises from the familiar fact that efficiency leading to increased production may depress prices. Since 1880 the physical volume of production per farm worker in the United States has more than doubled. Those who believe the farmer does not always benefit from agricultural progress say that this increase has not been sufficiently compensated for by an increase in the demand. Cut-throat rather than healthy competition is declared to result from undue haste in improving technical methods. It is impossible to apply the brake, for agriculture is competitive and the efficient individual has an advantage he never willingly relinquishes. Hence it is said that the only alternative is a reduction in the number of farmers. Up to a certain point this logic is undeniable. General progress in the efficiency of farmers, unless accompanied by a proportionate increase in the demand for farm products, necessarily reduces the number of farmers required. But this logic does not refer to any real situation. It assumes a more rapid general increase in farm efficiency and a less elastic demand situation than we are likely to experience.

The net loss of farm population in the United States from 1920 to 1927 was about 3,283,000 persons, much the largest reduction ever recorded in a like period. Yet the efficiency alarmists demand a still more drastic depopulation of the farms, so that they can be made bigger and better and mechanical power substituted for human and animal labor on an unprecedented scale. Then, and not till then, they believe, will the returns from agriculture equal the returns accruing to labor and capital invested in other enterprises. This view puts the progress of the agricultural industry, conceived in purely economic terms, above the interests of the men and women dependent on it. It implies that the misfortunes of farm people do not matter, provided the industry thrives. But agriculture ought

not to be a ruthless god requiring continual human sacrifices. It should bring prosperity to a relatively stable if not an increasing number of farmers; and no business from which increasing numbers must necessarily flee can serve that purpose. Fortunately, analysis of the efficiency problem shows that the progress of farming considered as an industry is not inconsistent with the prosperity of its personnel.

EFFECT OF PRICE MOVEMENTS

Before this can be made clear a common mistake must be mentioned. Most farmers identify their interests wholly with the movement of farm commodity prices. They consider rising prices synonymous with agricultural progress and falling prices synonymous with agricultural distress. This is often but not always the case. If it were invariably true, a general increase in efficiency would be a detriment to agriculture, as a rule, because it would tend to make prices fall. Prices, however, determine only the gross and not the net return from the sale of a given quantity of goods. It is net returns in which farmers are interested. Net returns depend on the difference between prices received and costs of production. Increased efficiency reduces costs as well as prices. When it reduces costs proportionately more than it reduces prices the producer has a net gain. Nevertheless, farmers generally think they make out a complete case for relief when they show that it takes more wheat or cotton today than formerly to purchase a certain quantity of other goods. It likewise takes more automobiles today than formerly to purchase a certain quantity of other goods, for example, wheat or cotton; but the automobile industry thrives. In so far as increased efficiency may have something to do with the reduced exchange value of farm products as compared with the pre-war basis, it does not follow that the condition is one to be deplored.

The question is whether agriculture has increased its productivity to a greater extent than manufactures. Equal progress in the two branches of industry, other factors remaining unchanged,

would mean that there should be no change in the exchange value of farm products in terms of other goods. But this exchange relationship has changed greatly. Although less unfavorable to agriculture now than it was a few years ago, the purchasing power of farm products is still about 15 per cent below the pre-war level. Although since 1922 the net income of American agriculture, as a whole, has risen proportionately more than the agricultural price level has risen, nevertheless there is clear evidence that relatively unfavorable price conditions have been materially offset by a reduction in relative costs of production.

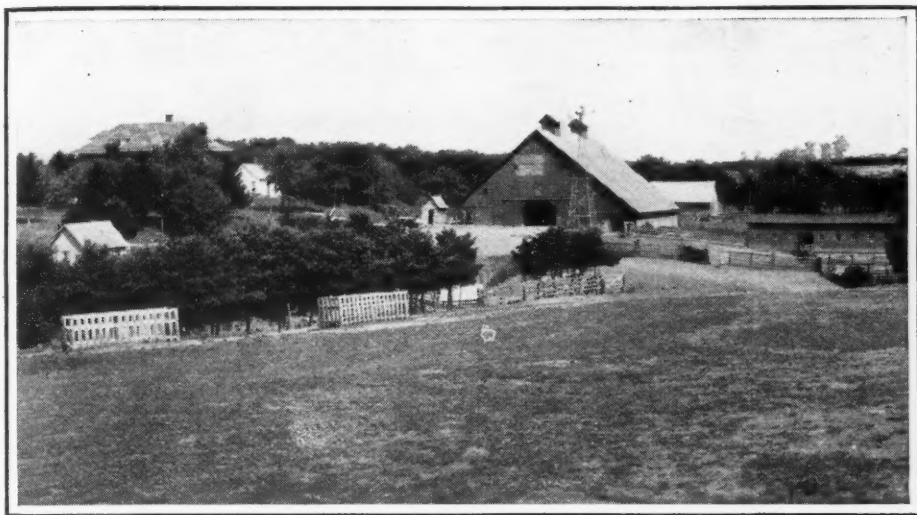
Statistical evidence regarding the relative progress made by agriculture and manufactures in productivity per man employed is not very conclusive. The comparison is difficult to make. But the belief that agriculture has recently outstripped industry does not depend wholly on statistics. It is supported by facts of common observation, joined to the familiar economic principle, a derivative of the law of diminishing returns, that technical innovations have their greatest proportionate influence on production in the early stages of their introduction. After the Civil War American agriculture made a tremendous jump in production per man, because the seed drill, the steel plow, the mower and the harvester came into general use. These machines increased the acreage one man could care for by from 30 to 50 per cent. When the new machines had spread to all parts of the country, and this technical revolution was over, the rate of increase in production per man declined. By the close of the century the curve had about flattened out. The effect of the new machines on prices was far greater during the early period of their general use than it was after agriculture had become adjusted to them. Another technical revolution, apparently not less important than that of the '60s and '70s of the last century, has taken place in American agriculture since the World War. The percentage of gain in production per man recorded in the two periods is nearly the same. No corresponding jump in productivity has taken place

simultaneously in manufactures in which technical progress, though uninterrupted, seems to have been less revolutionary.

FARM REVOLUTION SINCE THE WAR

It is not excessive to apply the term revolution to the changes effected in American agriculture since the World War. The sweep of the combined harvester into the States east of the Rockies; the rise of large-scale cotton farming in Texas and Oklahoma; the prodigious substitution of gasoline traction for animal power on farms throughout the country; the improvement of live-stock breeding through campaigns against animal diseases—these developments have influenced production to a degree never before equaled. Agricultural technic since the war has progressed, to use the language of biology, by an extraordinary structural mutation, whereby new organs of production have been suddenly projected; whereas the advancement of manufactures has been achieved by simple evolution. Agriculture has adopted radically new methods. Manufacturing industry, in the main, has merely refined and improved upon methods already well developed. It is extremely probable, therefore, that a relatively greater influence on prices since the war has been exerted by the gain in efficiency of agriculture than by that of manufactures. This is because agriculture started from a relatively less advanced point and had therefore more room for progress. What concerns us here is the influence these varying rates of progress have had on the relationship between the prices of agricultural and of non-agricultural commodities. This influence has undoubtedly been an important factor in prolonging the agricultural price depression.

Rapid economic changes are usually painful to some of the producers involved. Small farmers in the old cotton belt, for example, have been compelled to face severe competition from the newer cotton regions of Western Texas and Oklahoma, where power farming on large farms greatly reduces production costs. A study by the Department of Agriculture shows that the small farmers of Georgia meet this competition not by



U. S. Department of Agriculture

A prosperous farm in Nebraska

adopting improved methods but by struggling along on reduced incomes. In Gwinnett County, Ga., a county farmed mostly by whites, the average net cash income per family in 1924 was only \$424. This income, although supplemented by \$393 worth of food, fuel and shelter from the farm, left practically nothing for books, recreation, education or luxuries. In fact, tobacco and snuff were the only luxury items in general demand. Though the eastward march of the tractor and the combined harvester in the Great Plains has not yet put extreme pressure on wheat growers elsewhere, it has tended to discourage the growing of wheat where the new methods cannot be applied.

These and similar results of the agricultural revolution have been made the occasion for some pessimistic forecasts. Agriculture is said to be developing a class of superefficient producers, whose work will force their less capable competitors to the wall and at the same time cut down their own profits by overproduction. The production costs of a farmer in Montana who has a 95,000-acre wheat and flax farm are said to be much less than those of small farmers. Other large farms are springing up in the Great Plains region and in Texas and Oklahoma at a rate that unquestion-

ably portends important changes in the production of small grains.

It used to be taken for granted that the big farm does not pay. That is no longer the case. The Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, makes handsome profits from a centrally directed farm enterprise embracing nine large farms and numerous branches. The James Mills Orchard Corporation of California runs 6,200 acres under a single management. In *The Daily Farmer* L. J. Brosemer describes farming on 4,000 acres "without a farmhand." The Oak Orchard Farm in Genesee County, N. Y., a farm as large as Manhattan Island, is handled by corporation methods. The McQueen Smith Farming Company runs a 9,500-acre plantation in Alabama on the share-crop system, with \$200,000 capital stock and central supervision. Corporation ownership and management control the biggest rice farm in the world, which is in Texas. A group of men in Manchester, England, own the largest cotton plantation in the world, a 45,000-acre place in Mississippi. Chain farms in the corn belt and chain orchards in California are succeeding. These illustrations, which might be many times multiplied, show that transition is the order of the day in all branches of agriculture.

American agriculture, however, will

not be factoryized overnight. This country has more than 6,000,000 farms and their average size increases only very slowly. The increase does not proceed as rapidly as is desirable, even on the basis of family-size farm operation, to say nothing of factory-farm operation. Farms too small for economic operation by a single family are found in practically all parts of the country. The so-called industrialization of agriculture has scarcely begun. It can go far in areas specially adapted for it without materially changing the central fact that in the United States the farmstead is usually also a homestead. Nothing like the rapid consolidation of enterprises that often takes place in the business world is probable in agriculture; and it may be taken for granted that the development of large-scale agriculture, at whatever rate it may proceed, will penalize the very small man less severely than similar tendencies usually do in other occupations. It will put some pressure on him certainly; and additional pressure will be put on him by the general progress of efficiency throughout the industry, but it should not often deprive him of his position as an independent entrepreneur. Increased efficiency will no doubt have some tendency to concentrate farming in fewer hands, but rapid development in this direction need scarcely be expected.

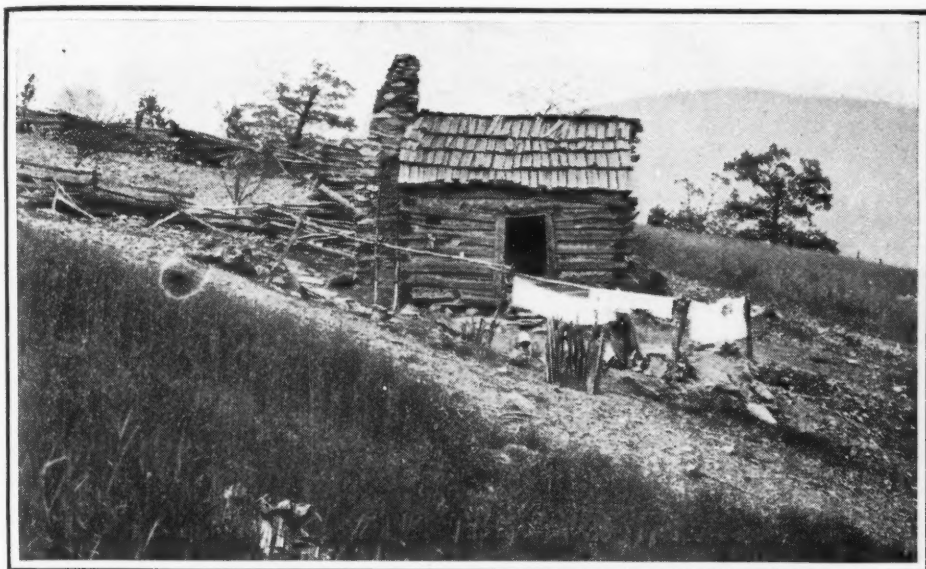
Probably the influence of large-scale or factory farming will be less than recent developments suggest. Bonanza farms were commoner in the United States a few decades ago than they are today. One such farm, located in the Red River Valley of North Dakota, was broken up into comparatively small holdings only a few years ago mainly because a change from wheat to diversified crops complicated management problems excessively. The Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society recently, for similar reasons, sold its sixteen-section bonanza farm at Hughton, Saskatchewan. Factory farming demands a degree of specialization that can rarely be observed. With a multiplicity of crops and unreliable weather conditions, each day's task is different from that of the day before. Such conditions necessitate a multitude

of small decisions and make centralized management extremely difficult. Scientific agriculture, depending on complicated rules for the conservation of soils and the breeding of plants and live stock, is with difficulty entrusted to transient labor.

Rapid inclusion of a large part of agriculture within the scope of the newest technic might give the average farmer reason to be afraid. In that event low costs of production would be applied to a relatively large proportion of the agricultural output; prices would be depressed accordingly and the profit of the relatively inefficient would disappear. But no such development is in prospect. In all probability the outstanding result of exceptional progress in efficiency will continue to be what it has been in the past, namely, a profit much above the average for the pioneers. Only when improved methods are in general use does the resulting economic benefit pass largely from the producer to the consumer. In agriculture, the world's largest and most widely diffused occupation, that is a very late development indeed.

PROBABLE NEED OF MORE LABOR

As the average of efficiency in agriculture rises, some of the marginal men may have to seek other work, but the ruin of large numbers is not probable. In other countries national expansion has invariably been associated with an increased necessity to conserve land. This generally requires the use of more labor per acre. It is difficult to see why the United States should expect any other course of development, no matter how much progress it makes in the mechanization of farming processes. There is a promise here of more farming jobs. Prophecy is hazardous; but the chances are strong that when higher yields per acre become urgently necessary in this country the price will be increased labor. Heretofore we have conserved labor rather than land. As the pressure of population upon land resources grows, that tendency is likely to be reversed. The small farmer of average productivity is assured of his place at least until



U. S. Department of Agriculture

A run-down dwelling and farm in the southern hill country of Virginia

large-scale farms and mass production become commoner than they are today. So long as the most efficient methods are applied to only a small proportion of the total agricultural output, the farmer who is not too inefficient is sure of a breathing spell. If he is wise, of course, he will use it to catch up with the march of progress.

All the available evidence indicates that the superefficient few constitute an extremely small group in all branches of agriculture. This applies not only to the application of improved methods on a considerable scale by farmers operating large farms. It covers also variations in efficiency on all sorts of farms, as indicated by cost of production records. It is not the variation in efficiency between the most and the least efficient farmer that is decisive, but the amount of the total product that is produced at low costs. Ten farmers producing wheat at less than a dollar a bushel would not have much influence on the market; ten thousand might. The all-important question, in considering the relation between the progress of efficiency and the welfare of the average farmer, is the relative share of the superefficient in our total production. As yet this is very small.

Most of our farmers are neither extremely inefficient nor extremely efficient, if cost of production studies and net incomes are any criterion. They are bunched around the mean more densely than one might expect. The average or near-average farmer, and not the super-efficient, is the mainstay of the market.

Though one would not expect most farmers to vary greatly from the average in efficiency, statistics suggest that the variations from the average are even less than one might expect. Income studies show a heavy concentration of returns around the mean. Cost of production curves indicating the prices at which different farmers produce their crops after an initial sharp rise reflecting the contribution of a few very low-cost men usually rise very gently indeed. Only in the comparatively small low-cost and high-cost groups do the curves rise sharply.

The United States Tariff Commission, investigating comparative costs of producing wheat in the United States and in Canada, found that during the period 1921-23 the average cost (including land charges) of producing Spring wheat in the United States varied on different farms from less than 60 cents to more

than \$3 a bushel. But the great bulk of the costs fell between \$1 and \$1.60 a bushel. Only about 15 per cent of the growers produced their wheat at less than 80 cents a bushel and only about 10 per cent at costs exceeding \$1.80 a bushel. In Canada the curve of rising costs was still flatter. Practically 70 per cent of the Canadian wheat cost from 70 cents to \$1.20 a bushel to produce. Over a longer period these variations would be still narrower, because they resulted partly from weather conditions that would show less variation for a long period.

SMALL VARIATIONS IN COSTS

It is always the great body of the producers who produce the bulk of the supply, and they do it at costs not varying greatly as a rule. Cotton growers in the United States in 1924 had production costs (including land charges and an allowance for the labor of the farmer and his family) varying from 7 to 51 cents a pound. That variation, had it been equally distributed among all the producers, would have meant a loss on a great part of the crop, though 1924 was a good cotton year. But the great bulk of the crop cost only from 12 to 18 cents a pound to produce. Scarcely more than a hundred farmers out of nearly 1,500 from whom reports were obtained had costs exceeding 20 cents a pound; only 177 had costs below 13 cents. In the same year 5,500 farmers reported their costs of producing oats. Only 231 had costs below 35 cents a bushel and only 824 had costs exceeding 76 cents. Some 2,000 had costs varying from 49 to 59 cents, a comparatively narrow spread for a field crop in a single year. Costs on different farms vary with weather conditions. A variation that would seem wide in other businesses may in agriculture represent merely the influence of the weather on yields, and have little or nothing to do with individual efficiency.

These facts indicate the impropriety of drawing extreme conclusions from variations in individual efficiency among farmers. Such variations, even when wide, must be in relation to whatever information may be available as to

the amount of the output coming from the most efficient men. Usually, in a sufficiently large group, this contribution is small. Though farm management studies always reveal considerable variation in individual efficiency, they also invariably show that most of the producers fall in a middle group within which the variation is negligible. The average farmer controls the bulk of the agricultural supplies grown in this country, and while that is the case he cannot be seriously menaced, no matter how far he may be outdistanced in efficiency by a small minority.

Hence it is not true that increased efficiency in agriculture means ruinously heightened competition. When technical improvements are adopted by only a few farmers the volume of production affected is too small to influence prices materially. When such improvements are in general use their tendency to force prices down through increased production is offset, from the standpoint of net returns, by lower costs of production. Increased efficiency, in short, yields its own antidote to any bad effect it may have on prices. Progress in the efficiency of American agriculture since the war has been accomplished in two principal ways—by an increase in the scale of farming in certain areas specially adapted for the use of power machinery and by numerous small technical improvements adopted by farmers generally. It is not easy for the average farmer to meet competition arising from a change of scale in his line of farming; but competition of that sort is as yet relatively unimportant. Competition resulting from general improvements in agricultural technique can be met by keeping up with the procession. That is what our farmers generally are doing. No other inference can be drawn from the increase that has taken place of late in their average productivity. A few star performers may dazzle us with demonstrations of unsuspected possibilities, but it is the performance of the general mass that mainly counts. And the general mass is forging ahead in efficiency in a way that shows it regards efficiency as an advantage and not a drawback.

Spengler, A Poetic Interpreter Of History

By JAMES T. SHOTWELL

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; GENERAL EDITOR OF THE ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

IN a thoughtful article published not long ago, Dr. Carl Becker, the distinguished scholar who is at present Prussian Minister of Education, called attention to the fact that in these post-war years Europe, and especially Germany, has lost the taste for history. To judge by the classes in the universities and the sales of books—in Germany an almost equal index of the intellectual outlook—interest in history has given place among students of the social sciences to an interest in economics. The thought of the new age is less and less of the purely scholarly type and more and more pragmatic. Historical research, therefore, has suffered something like an eclipse in a country which played so large a part in making that research scientific. The German seminar still applies the precepts of Ranke, but in the intellectual world, historically, the scientific and detached curiosity in the human past is making way for an interest in the present and the future.

It might seem at first as though the success of Spengler's great work* were a complete contradiction to this generalization. Here is a vast survey of universal history which was published in the darkest days of Germany immediately after the war, and which, in the first few months after publication, reached a circulation of over a hundred thousand copies. It is doubtful if any other his-

torian in all the history of history has ever had so notable a literary success. How, then, can one claim, as Dr. Becker insists, that the German public is not historically minded when its best seller is the most ponderous work of universal history that modern Germany has produced? The answer to this paradox is that the appeal which Spengler's work makes upon the German mind—and upon the mind of many readers of the English text as well—is not a historical appeal in the proper sense of the word. It is a performance which must be judged by different criteria than those of the historical seminar.

This will become apparent from the description below, but first a word about the author. Dr. Oswald Spengler had published nothing of importance before these two volumes. Born in 1880, he studied at Munich and Berlin in mathematics, philosophy and history, taking his doctor's degree on Heraclitus. According to the publisher's statement, it was the Agadir crisis of 1911, that first ominous note premonitory of the great war, which led him to examine the nature of the structure of civilization, apparently so dangerously jarred by the clash of interests in Morocco. The war, however, intervened before the work was done; the first volume appeared in Germany in 1918, the second in 1922. The title that it bears would seem at first to connect it with the World War, for the note of disaster in the German title, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, is much more specific than in the more vague and general implication of the English title. Something of this suggestion may have helped

**The Decline of the West*. By Oswald Spengler. Authorized translation of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, by Charles Francis Atkinson. Two volumes. Volume I, *Form and Actuality*; Volume II, *Perspectives of World-History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, 1928.

in part to create the great demand for the book in Germany; nevertheless, it is not a creation of the war but rather a noble monument of intellectual defiance of all purely temporary events. It recalls such creations as those of Beethoven in Vienna during the disasters of the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, or of Goethe looking calmly at the disturbed world of a revolutionary era. It is a thing in itself almost detached from the contemporary history of Germany during the World War.

A STORY OF CIVILIZATION

Enough has been written about these volumes to enable us to shorten our picture of their contents. *The Decline of the West* is a philosophical, historical, treatise, embracing almost every interest, intellectual and otherwise, of civilized man from the dawn of history to the present day. The story of this complex civilization is not given chronologically but topically, and the chapters of Volume I bear such strange titles as "The Meaning of Numbers," "Physiognomic and Systematic," "The Destiny-Idea and the Causality-Principle," "Makrosmos—The Symbolism of the World Picture and the Problem of Space," "Faustian and Apollinian Nature Knowledge." Those of Volume II are somewhat more concrete, but are still far removed from the ordinary chapter headings of history. The lower cultures are preceded by a survey of "Origin and Landscape" dealing with plant and animal life, "Being and Waking-Being," and the "Mass Soul." The problem of Arabian culture bears the title "Historic Pseudomorphoses." The volume ends with two great chapters on the "Form-World of Economic Life" in two divisions, "Money," and "The Machine."

When one compares these subject groupings of the most popular work on universal history in Germany with the arrangement of Wells's *Outline of History* one is forced to admit a greater mental vigor in the German writer; but at the same time the relatively simple story of the human past as Wells conceived it is, of the two narratives, the more genuine history in the sense of

Ranke. The purpose of Wells was to reproduce the past as it actually happened, reducing the subjective element to the editorial task of devoting more or less space to this or that event, but, upon the whole, intent on rescuing for knowledge phenomena of interest in themselves. Spengler's purpose is of an entirely different kind. It is an artistic interest in the formation of a great synthesis, a world philosophy. The incoherent past is to be made articulate and no longer meaningless by stating it in terms of symbols which in themselves have an are-meaning for the author. He is "convinced that it is not merely a question of writing one out of several possible and merely logically justifiable philosophies, but of writing the philosophy of our time, one that is to some extent a natural philosophy and is dimly presaged by all."

Now this effort to write "the philosophy of our time" is not history in the true sense of that word, but rather the denial of it. It is, as Spengler himself states in the preface to the revised edition, the "intuitive and depictive" arrangement of phenomena for the purpose of illustrating other things, and the whole synthesis is frankly in the subjective world of the thinker. It addresses itself solely to readers "who are capable of living themselves into the word-sounds and pictures as they read,"—which means that it is addressed to those who can fit their imagination into the imaginative creation and attitude of the writer himself. This is myth making; it is poetry. In the hands of Spengler it is massive and splendid poetry because the structure of his thought is architecturally magnificent, powerful in outline and beautiful in detail. Nevertheless, it is a dream structure and should not be mistaken for reality.

The title itself suggests the trend of the narrative. Western civilization is on the threshold of an inevitable and all-embracing decline. In this prediction the author falls back upon a theory of history which arranges events according to a series of cultures which have each their childhood, youth, manhood and old age. There have been eight such ripe cultures, the Chinese, the Babylonian,

the Egyptian, the East Indian, the Greco-Roman, the Arabian, the Maya of Yucatan and Mexico, and that of "the West." Each of these cultures lasts for about a thousand years and then decays. The sign of decay is when a culture passes into a civilization, that is, when spontaneous, energetic and creative life exhausts its creative impulses and grows mechanical; when the skeptic denies and the dilettante toys with the things that have been sacred and stimulating to feeling as well as thought. The outward form of this change from culture to civilization is seen in the growth of cities and the socializing process which city life implies. There is no sign of a directing divinity, as in Hegel, no meaning that inspires with confidence or hope, but a recur-

ring cataclysm when the dead nerves no longer respond to impulse and the keen impressions that make the joy of living are burned out, leaving only the ashes of a worn and empty world. It should be said that the emptiness that follows upon disaster receives none of that stressing which it would be given by a moralist.

Spengler is interested in the great and tragic drama which he depicts and wastes little idle sympathy upon the victim of the recurring night. And it is in this depiction of the process that the writer is carried along through a world of suggestion and by ways that open up history in new perspectives. The two huge volumes are packed full with varied data of all kinds of interest, artistic, scientific, political and philosophical. It is a rich and ever stimulating collection of his-

toric detail placed in the strangest juxtaposition, like some vast museum in which things from different eras have apparently been mixed by some irresponsible fancy and yet when studied more deeply one sees a design running through what

seems at first mere willful medley.

It is wrong to judge this book as a historical manual or even as history. There is in part the suggestion of a prose Goethe with a range of sensibility that is as capable of lyric outbursts as it is of the enjoyment of abstract formulae. Take the opening paragraphs of Volume II for instance. They are worth quoting, and fortunately the English translator has rendered the full beauty of the original — which, by the way, may be said of the whole translation, and saying this is



OSWALD SPENGLER

a high tribute to the translator:

"Regard the flowers at eventide, as, one after the other, they close in the setting sun. Strange is the feeling that then presses in upon you—a feeling of enigmatic fear in the presence of this blind, dreamlike, earth-bound existence. The dumb forest, the silent meadows, this bush, that twig, do not stir themselves; it is the wind that plays with them. Only the little gnat is free—he dances still in the evening light, he moves whither he will. A plant is nothing on its own account. It forms a part of the landscape in which a chance made it take root. The twilight, the chill, the closing of every flower—these are not cause and effect, not danger and willed answer to danger.

"They are a single process of nature, which is accomplishing itself near, with,

and in the plant. The individual is not free to look out for itself, will for itself, or choose for itself. An animal, on the contrary, can choose. It is emancipated from the servitude of all the rest of the world. This midget swarm that dances on and on, that solitary bird still flying through the evening, the fox approaching furtively the nest—these are *little worlds of their own within another great world*. An animalcule is a drop of water, too tiny to be perceived by the human eye, though it lasts but a second and has but a corner of this drop as its field—nevertheless is *free and independent in the face of the universe*. The giant oak, upon one of whose leaves the droplet hangs, is not."

"INSPIRED MASS UNITS"

This is a lyric approach to the problem of the "Cosmic and the Microcosm." It is pure poetry, that leads one from the elements of life and nature to the formation of those "inspired mass units" which become coherent in terms of social or national action. Thus in a few pages we are carried from gnats to the psychology of crowds—"noisy and ecstatic at Eleusis or Lourdes or heroically firm like the Spartans at Thermopylae * * * they form themselves to the music of chorales, marches and dances, and are sensitive like human and animal thoroughbreds to the effects of bright colors, decorations, costume and uniform." Thus Spengler sweeps from "the hours at eventide" to the streets of Paris in 1789, when "the cry, 'A la lanterne!' fell upon the ear."

The whole book is written with this imaginative freedom, and the marvel of it—for it is a marvel—is that the vigor of the imagination has not been cramped or wearied by the vast scope of the survey. Few books are more learned than this, reaching as it does from Oriental culture through the antique world and medieval thought into the science of today; nevertheless, one feels generally that the author has entered sympathetically into the thinking of these civilizations which in the upbuilding of his scheme of philosophy he moves backward and forward across the ages so as to

place Cromwell along with Pythagoras and Mohammed, and Buddhism along with Stoicism and Socialism. To be able to move these massive forms and yet to give each age a touch that is almost like a caress is something that makes Spengler's prose the kind of thing that Heine described in the *Nibelungenlied*, which has Gothic proportions that, however, do not distort the realism of detail.

NOT GREAT HISTORY

Nevertheless, this poem is not great history. The use of historical data should not blind us to the fact that the architectural method employed in building up the synthesis is the very opposite of that which the historian uses. A series of analogies furnishes the pattern according to which this rich pageantry of the imagination is given its design.

Spengler divides world history into four cycles of civilization: the Indian, beginning about 1800 B. C.; the antique, dating from about 900 B. C.; the Arabian, which includes the foundation of Christianity and Islam, and the Western, which began about 900 A. D. Each cycle has its *Spring, Summer, Autumn* and (*Winter*). The Western cycle is now depositing its harvest as the Winter of a dark age presses upon us once again. This synthesis is allegorical in character and is akin to that type of thinking which dominated the early Christian Fathers when they had a similar problem to that which Spengler has undertaken, namely, the effort to fit into a single whole the recalcitrant data of life and the world which seemed to be running at cross purposes to the divine plan. They found unity by insisting that not all reality was equally real, but that some phenomena existed for the purpose of foreshadowing others. Thus the primitive Jewish past could be made contributory to the Christian era. Spengler has another synthesis, but his method is substantially the same; the elements of the past are compared with the elements of the present in a vast human allegory, the key to which is a perception of what he calls "the cosmic beat" of life itself.

Now the historical fallacy in this phi-

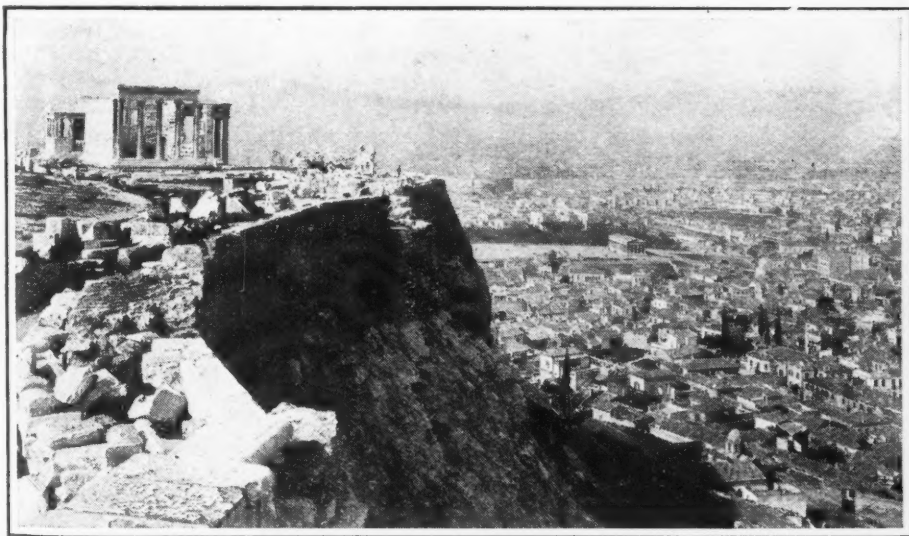
losophy is that the law of growth is only uniform for civilizations which are uniform in character, and modern civilization, that of today, is not uniform with any that has ever gone before. The drawing of analogies from the Indian and the antique past is a prejudging of contemporary civilization according to standards inappropriate to it. The external resemblances that lie in Cromwellian and Mohammedan world outlook furnish no criteria as to the contribution made to the world by Cromwell on the one hand and Mohammed on the other. Cromwell may have thought in the accents of Islam, but his work was one that made for human liberty although he himself was impatient of its claims.

SPENGLER'S FALLACY

It is only at the close of the second volume that one comes upon the clue to the fallacy of the work as history. The machine is introduced in this chapter with the same kind of penetrating characterization as Spengler bestowed upon medieval and antique creations. Nevertheless, the age of applied science which reveals itself in the conquest of time and space here is an entirely new creation in all human history, and to apply time sched-

ules of the past to a world becoming timeless and spaceless is philosophically as well as historically unjustified. Winter followed Autumn in the past because society was essentially predatory, having no adequate means to maintain culture without an unjust dependence upon those who had no share in its material blessings. From the savage raid and slavery down to the industrial problems of today, the world has been built upon false economic and moral forces, inherently unjust and therefore inherently lacking in equilibrium. Modern civilization can escape its Winter by the application to social and political life of that same intelligence which in the physical sciences is enabling us to escape from the routine limitations of narrowed confines in time as well as space, which are the two fundamental bases of life itself. The failure of analogies grows apparent when one looks forward mindful of these possibilities already dawning in what may be the first real springtime of civilization after all.

There is, therefore, another perspective than that of Spengler, which sees the present moment not as the end of a process but as the first beginnings of the passing of barbarian life.



Publishers Photo Service

Athens, the birthplace of Western civilization, as seen from the Acropolis today

A Clearing House of Human Knowledge

By FRANCIS X. DERCUM

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

A SHORT time ago a formal communication was addressed to the members of the American Philosophical Society, which announced an intellectual stock-taking program for the purpose of formulating a future plan of service to all branches of learning. In this connection the following broad queries were presented: What today is the world's intellectual need? Is there a drifting apart of the purely scientific interests and the humanistic interests? Is there a loss of perspective and of grasp of fundamental principles by reason of specialization in education and in thought? and, finally, how can these interests and these branches of individualistic learning be coordinated into one program with one common purpose, the promotion of all useful knowledge?

Thus the American Philosophical Society, now in its third century of "promoting useful knowledge," has pledged its membership to an intellectual stock-taking, which means, in a few words, an inventory of the store of human knowledge. What this "market survey" will develop during the next few years remains to be seen, but certainly an intellectual stock-taking which is enlisting the interest and cooperation of the whole public should prepare mankind to meet the demands of the future.

There occurs in the life of every one a period when there takes place in the mind a kind of summation, a kind of totaling, of the acquired knowledge and experiences. Things seem to settle themselves automatically and spontaneously into some sort of coherent arrangement. Without any effort of volitional thought,

the various elements, instinctive and acquired, which make up our psychic lives, arrange themselves into an equation in which known and unknown factors, constants and variables, arrange themselves spontaneously side by side, and from which the mind automatically and, one might say, subconsciously, derives a resultant; a resultant which constitutes the personality. It makes up that which determines the individual's reactions to his environment, his view of life, his view of his surroundings and of those about him; upon it are based his beliefs and character.

The formation of this personality begins early in life, probably with the very dawn of consciousness. Gradually such elemental notions as self and non-self are acquired. Later integration and differentiation take place, and, little by little, growth and development, and the impacts of the environment result in what may be termed an average, such as is present in the organism at puberty. Further integration and differentiation depend upon the inherent potentialities of the individual for development and the environmental influences. These may consist of formal education and training, or of conditions in which such factors play a lesser rôle, or are even absent. Granting, however, a given biological groundwork, the tendency is always toward the averaging of the accumulating experiences.

Circumstances such as environment, opportunity, personal liking, inclination, determine the course of life or the choice that is finally made of the special line of training to be followed. Sooner or later in the demands made by mod-

ern civilization the training becomes more and more specialized, and if the individual be one of those who adds something to the sum of human knowledge, it is naturally and almost necessarily in the specialized field in which his life's energies are being spent. There is, of course, a danger of losing contact with other fields of science and other fields of learning. Closely related fields of thought and endeavor may perhaps be here and there touched upon, or his own special field possibly invaded, but the wider ranges of knowledge may remain but dimly recognized or even closed. There is even danger to those immersed in extreme and isolated specialisms that truths in closely related fields may remain unknown and the possible benefit of their application remain unrealized.

FIELDS OF KNOWLEDGE INTERDEPENDENT

The fact is that many of the fields of human knowledge merge insensibly into one another, and further, that they are often mutually interdependent. The close relation which obtains between given fields may be illustrated by the following example. Whether we adhere to the older and now much-questioned nebular hypothesis of Laplace, or to the newer planetesimal hypothesis of Chamberlin and Moulton regarding the origin of the solar system, we sooner or later pass to a consideration of our own planet; that is, we pass from the study of the origin of the cosmos to a study of the earth's structure, with its multiple problems of earth crust formation, changes of surface, appearance of and distribution of land and water, and the chemical and physical constitution of the materials of which the earth's crust is composed. Inevitably, again, the first appearance of the evidences of living forms in and on the earth's crust opens other vast vistas, such as the evidence furnished by the rocks in which the remains of living forms, plants and animals, are imbedded, the evidence of the gradual and increasing differentiation of living forms, the appearance of articulated and shelled animals and other forms, and the later appearance of vertebrates, fishes, mammals, the first appearance of the highest

type of mammals: lemur-like forms, monkeys, anthropoid apes and, finally, man. As a natural transition come now the studies of fossil human remains, the remains of the stone age man and his utensils, the first appearance of burial and all that this implies, the first indications of social living, the period of the early beginnings of racial or communal consciousness, the earliest evidences of a culture, the earliest markings upon stone, the earliest records, the earliest appearances of that which we call civilization and which is the great field to which the humanists today devote themselves.

It is unnecessary to point out the relation which these studies bear to the chemistry or physics of the earth, its waters, its atmosphere, or, again, to the very stars around us. Since the most ancient times, the stars have been studied by man; their influences upon the earth, long relegated to fields of superstition, we now know through the studies of our astronomers and astrophysicists to be very real. Our own sun, itself but an insignificant member of the milky way, exercises an influence upon our planet and our lives which is brought vividly home to us, and more and more closely, by our steadily increasing knowledge of the sun's atmosphere, of its chemistry and physics; and to this should be added the new knowledge of the structure of matter, of the identity of the various forms of energy, and of the wonderful additions to our knowledge of the relationship of time and space.

Surely we have here an instance in which cosmogony, the study of the origin of the universe, geology, paleontology, the study of fossils, archaeology and the natural and physical sciences merge into one another and in which the facts of each must be coordinated with the facts of the others. Upon this subject, one of our members has expressed himself as follows: "It seems to me that the most impressive fact in the universe is the emergence of man from the lower animals in the geological ages and his subsequent long and slow conquest of civilization. The processes by which this development took place link together the natural history of our planet with the

social developments which have since ensued, and the whole course of things on our planet is thus correlated in an uninterrupted story of evolution."

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE

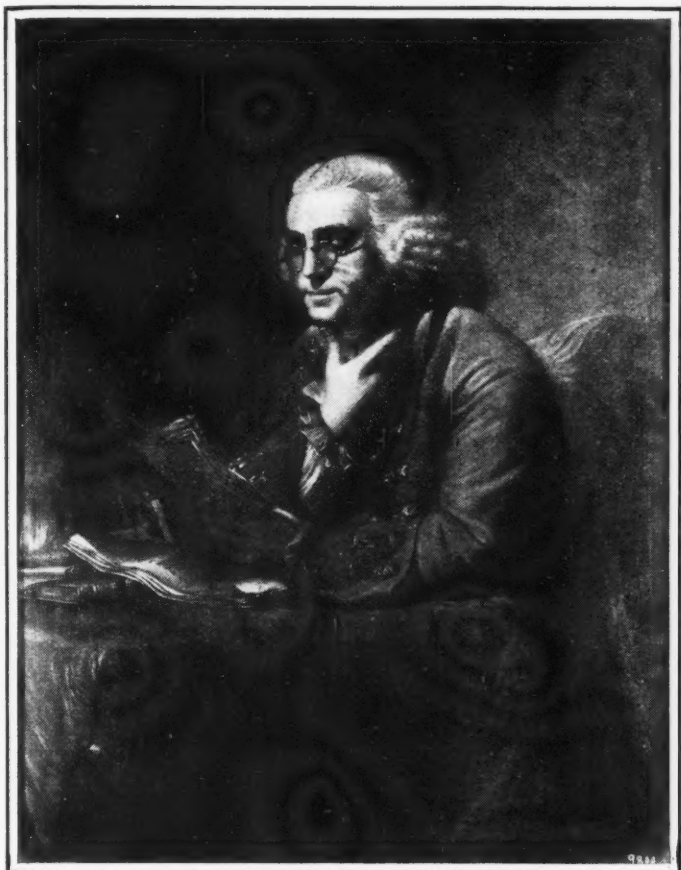
This correlation, which embraces so many departments of human knowledge, is one of the tasks which lie before us. But it is not the only one. Let me take another instance, namely, the problem presented by the appearance of life upon the earth. The fact confronts us! How is it to be explained? If this task is ever to be accomplished, it will be, I believe, only by the mergence of knowledge in closely related fields. If life is to be correlated with the other phenomena of nature, if the energy which it expresses is to be correlated with the other forms of energy which nature manifests, it can be done only by bridging the gap between it and the physical world. That we have long entertained an entirely erroneous view of the physical or so-called inorganic world, is proved by the truths revealed about the structure of matter. The fact that the atom has resolved itself into a nucleus surrounded by revolving electrons, that the nucleus or proton is electro-positive and the electrons are negative charges of electricity; the further fact that the nucleus is itself revealed as being made up both of electropositive and electronegative factors with the positive predominating, lead to the inevitable conclusion that the atom, so-called, is but a manifestation of electricity; that is, of energy.

What is the origin of the cataclysts; what is their function? Is the fact that cataclysts are not confined to the organic world of any significance in explaining their mode of action? Is their presence related to the remarkable fact that as a result of its chemical processes—such as oxidation—living protoplasm is constantly undergoing two changes, one by which its mass is being constantly increased, and another by which its mass is being constantly reduced? Is there any explanation as to why the constructive or upbuilding change far exceeds the reducing change? Does the problem of reproduction or multiplica-

tion lie in this fact? Does the explanation that living protoplasm has persisted upon our earth for untold millions of years also lie here?

When we reflect that the properties of non-living matter are determined by the combinations and arrangements of their constituent atoms, i. e., combinations of the groups of protons and electrons, called elements, we naturally infer that the same truth applies to living matter as well. Is the difference between living and non-living matter due merely to the way in which the energy of protons and electrons manifests itself, a difference due to the complexity and special arrangement of the resulting materials? Has the problem to do with the fact that living protoplasm is a colloid suspension in gelatinous form and that it must therefore obey the laws of colloidal structure, both physical and chemical? Has it to do with the fact that the colloidal state is a "dynamic state" of matter; with the fact that we have to do here with laws of surface tension and surface energy, facts of extreme importance when we consider that the particles dispersed in so complex a colloid as protoplasm are vast beyond computation? Has it to do with the fact that protoplasm is not a chemical combination, but an aggregate of many substances; proteins, fats, carbohydrates and crystalloids or electrolytes? What is the rôle of the amino acids, so great in number? What is the rôle of the fats and carbohydrates? What is the rôle of the crystalloids? What is the rôle of the medium or media in which all of these substances are contained or suspended? Further, living protoplasm, as seen both in unicellular and multicellular forms, contains substances which have the property of bringing about chemical and physical changes in other substances without themselves undergoing any change whatever. Such substances are spoken of as ferments and hormones, but collectively as cataclysts.

What was the process by means of which it came into being? Did the earliest particles originate, as A. B. Macallum believes, in the ocean water



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

From Charles Willson Peale's copy of the portrait made by Martin while Franklin was in Paris

of the Archean period? If so to what agencies and to what circumstances did the formation of the complex amino acids and other substances owe their origin? Can the conditions ever be reproduced?

MERGING OF PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

Clearly the problems presented involve questions both of physics and chemistry. For a long time the fact that the study of living forms embraces both of these departments of knowledge has been recognized, as is evidenced by the use of such terms as biophysics and biochemistry. Certainly in no other field is the absolute necessity for an invasion into cognate departments of

science so clearly indicated as in biology. Can new facts, new truths be elicited? Will coordination of the facts be possible? If it be true that all the manifestations of nature, that is, of the universe, are but multiple and diverse expressions of one form of energy, we must in all reason include the manifestations of living matter. The questions that arise are many. Are they necessarily incapable of solution? I do not think so. Certainly, the problems presented demand consideration of closely allied territories with which they are intrinsically interwoven.

The two illustrations which I have here given of the importance of coordinating knowledge, first, of the gradual transition from the

problems of cosmogony to those of the evolution of man and civilization, and secondly, the vast fields opened up in cognate sciences by the problems presented by living forms, might be followed by many other examples, such, for instance, as the problems presented by archaeology, language, history, law and the humanities in general, not one of which can stand alone. However, enough has perhaps been said to show that a coordination of the various departments of learning is not only wise but absolutely necessary, if the highest order of progress is to be made.

The pursuit of special knowledge is, of course, absolutely necessary, in order that new facts and new truths in the

various special fields of science or of the humanities may be revealed, and yet there is grave danger that in exclusive pursuits, that is in the high degree of specialization of the present day, there may be, as pointed out, a loss of the relative values of these new facts and truths. There is unquestionably in the higher degrees of specialization a danger of drifting apart, not only from other fields of science but especially from the humanities. In the final word, all discoveries, no matter in what territory they lie, have to do with human affairs, with human life, with human interests, with human relations and they should be so interpreted.

How is the coordination of knowledge to be brought about? How are the seemingly divergent avenues of truth to be brought together? How are the apparently disparate facts of individualistic learning to be reconciled? By what means are the numerous factors of the equation to be reduced to a common and comprehensible formula? Evidently it must be through the medium of a common meeting ground. The various special organizations, scientific and humanistic, for the prosecution of knowledge in limited and definite lines of inquiry must pursue their courses as heretofore with undiminished vigor, making new conquests and blazing new territories, but the time arrives when the new facts acquired, when the glimpse of new principles must be brought into relation with a common whole. Otherwise they cannot be properly interpreted.

FRANKLIN'S PLAN

Benjamin Franklin, that many-sided and amazing personality, very early felt the need to know. The story of the Junto which he formed when only 21 years of age, is a very old one, but always interesting. Composed of young men, kindred in spirit, ideals and aspirations, it was established for mutual improvement, and their discussions embraced natural philosophy, morals and politics. How the Junto finally gave rise to the American Philosophical Society is also a twice-told tale. In 1743 Franklin

had issued a "Proposal for promoting useful knowledge among the British plantations in America." His object was to establish a "philosophical society." His proposal was in the form of a circular letter which he placed before his different correspondents. In that letter, after noticing the vast extent of the country, its various productions and the improvements, manufactures and so forth, of which it was susceptible, he observed "that the first drudgery of settling new colonies was then pretty well over, and there were many in every province in circumstances that set them at ease and afforded them license to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge." Note the expression, the "common stock of knowledge!" "To such of those as were men of 'speculation'" he addressed his plan, which was: "That one society should be formed of virtuosi or ingenious men, residing in the several colonies, to be established in the City of Philadelphia, as the most central place, and to be called 'The American Philosophical Society.'"

It is a remarkable fact that this society, dating its birth from the Junto and now over 200 years old, has continued to carry out the views and intent of its founder. It embraces all departments of human knowledge. It has never become divided into sections. All fields of learning are represented in its membership, and yet it has remained one undivided whole.

At its meetings the papers are usually presented in such a way that those of its members not specially or technically trained in the given subject can follow the reader and gain the essential premises, facts and conclusions. It is this outstanding fact that gives to the meetings a unique value to the members and to others attending. In the subsequent publication of the paper in the proceedings the strictly technical and scientific character of the presentation is, of course, preserved.

An interesting incident in the history of the society which illustrates its cosmopolitan make-up is the following: It so happened that in November, 1928, the people of the United States elected Her-

bert Hoover as their President. Herbert Hoover was a member of the American Philosophical Society; he had been a member since 1918, and this recognition had been accorded him because of the distinction he had acquired as an engineer. He was not the first member of the society, however, to be chosen to fill the highest office in our country. George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, James Buchanan, Ulysses S. Grant and Woodrow Wilson were all members when they were elected to the Presidency of the United States.

Thus Herbert Hoover was the ninth member to be elected from the floor of our society.

THE SOCIETY'S UNIQUE QUALITIES

From other scientific and learned bodies, the American Philosophical Society is to be especially distinguished by several features, and first by its age. The Junto was founded in 1727; the name "American Philosophical Society" was proposed by Franklin in 1743. The second oldest body, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, was founded in 1780; the third, the Academy of Natural Sciences in 1812, the fourth, the Smithsonian Institution, was established in 1846, and the National Academy of Sciences, in 1863. All these societies assumed, either in separate divisions or as their special functions, definite and particular fields of scientific investigation and study, and so it is with the host of other learned bodies that have from time to time arisen. It has remained as the unique function of the American Philosophical Society to deal with knowledge as a whole. New facts have value only as they affect the things we already know. Conclusions, inferences, generalizations widen or give way, in accordance with this increasing experience, with this constant expansion of the boundaries. Such expansion can take place only if the knowledge already acquired can be coordinated or in some way correlated. Otherwise it is largely without meaning. Of late it has been borne

home upon our society that its proper function is the study of such coordination or correlation.

That such fundamental studies will prove of great value, the two instances which I have made use of in this article clearly demonstrate, namely, first, the transition of the basal physical and natural sciences to the humanities, and secondly, the correlation of the physical, chemical, colloidal, catalytic and allied truths in the study of living forms. Both instances furnish food not only for thought but for direction of effort. That the task is a great one must, of course, be admitted. That it will involve the individual application of large numbers of disinterested students whose maintenance must be provided for, goes without saying, but that this feeling on the part of our society is merely in keeping with the times, is evidenced by the recent establishment of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, which aims to correlate knowledge of the mind and body and of individual and group conduct, and to study further the inter-relations of the factors which govern or influence human behavior. The field which has opened itself before our society is different, however, in that the problems of coordination that are presented involve nature, manifest in the universe, as a whole, and not only as it affects man and human conduct. They will inevitably tend, of course, to man's proper interpretation of his relations to the universe, of his position in the order of things. The question that insistently demands answer is how can this result be achieved? How can the accumulated knowledge be reduced to a coherent whole? How can those transitions which must exist between the various specialized departments of human knowledge, be brought to light, transitions upon which our knowledge of growth, of evolution, of the existing order of things must in the final word be based? Despite the magnitude of the task, there is one inspiring hope. Man's thirst to know is undying. Upon this undying thirst his progress depends.

The "Guilt" Clause in the Versailles Treaty

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The importance of the article printed below arises from the fact that it is generally assumed that the Treaty of Versailles contains a declaration that Germany and her allies were solely responsible for the World War. It might, therefore, be expected that the so-called "war-guilt clause" would come in a preamble or somewhere near the beginning of the treaty. Actually it is not found until we reach Article 231, and then it appears as the first article in the section relating to reparations. Even here, according to Mr. Binkley and other authorities, this article of the treaty cannot be construed as an affirmation of war guilt, but simply as a statement of liability for the loss and damage caused by Germany and her allies once the war had begun—a totally different matter from the question of what their moral responsibility may or may not have been up to the moment of the outbreak of the war.—EDITOR, CURRENT HISTORY.

Article 231: The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected in consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.

IT has long been recognized that Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty is ambiguous. It can be read either as a contractual assumption of liability for war damage or as a moral pronouncement relating to the genesis of the war. The ambiguity resides in two phrases—the first holding Germany and her Allies *responsible* for war damage, the second designating the war as one imposed upon the Allies by the *aggression* of the Central Powers. Each of the key words bears a double meaning, juridical and ethical. *Responsibility* can mean either legal liability (German, *Haftbarkeit*) or moral guilt (German *Schuld*). The *aggression* alleged to have imposed the war upon the Allies may be taken to

be the merely formal aggression constituted by prior declaration of war and invasion, or it may be a morally reprehensible policy and intention from which, according to the now discredited dogma of exclusive German war guilt, the World War arose.

The difference between these two interpretations is of critical importance today. If the words are given a moral and political interpretation, they are indefensible in the light of contemporary historical knowledge; they falsely impugn German honor, and therefore give just grounds for a great German national movement for the repudiation of an extorted confession of guilt. But if the words have a formal and juristic reading, they relate solely to reparations liabilities. They do not impugn German honor; they are not contradicted by historical research.

Newly revealed documents on the Peace Conference, privately printed by David Hunter Miller, throw light upon the interpretation of the article,¹ for it is a

¹David Hunter Miller: *My Diary at the Conference of Paris*, Appeal Printing

rule of international law that in construing a doubtful text, recourse is to be had to the history of the negotiations.

The negotiations of the reparations section of the Treaty of Versailles passed through four stages—the pre-armistice negotiations of November, 1918; the debates in the Commission on Reparations in February, 1919; the discussion which engaged the Supreme Council in March and April; the correspondence with the German delegation in May and June. The decisive texts were formulated in the first and third periods of the negotiations; at these times the negotiators were thinking in terms of financial and juristic "responsibility" and formal "aggression." The negotiation of the second and fourth periods, while primarily devoted to the problem of financial and legal liability, introduced a confusing discussion of moral and political guilt.

THE PRE-ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS

On Nov. 1, 1918, the Supreme War Council in Paris drew up its demand that Germany, having requested an armistice, agree to make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies "du fait de l'invasion par l'Allemagne des pays alliés, soit sur terre, soit sur mer, soit en conséquence d'opérations aériennes."² This formula was rendered into English in the Lansing note of Nov. 5, thus becoming the contractual basis of a reparations claim: "Compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, sea and from the air."

The sense of this language is clearly legalistic, not ethical. It has to do with an undertaking to make payments, not a confession of guilt. The word "aggression" refers to the bald, formal fact of invasion, without prejudice to any one or other version of pre-war history. The phrase "damage by aggression" was con-

strued by the American peace delegation to mean "physical damage to property resulting from the military operations of the enemy."³ Other possible meanings of the term "aggression" were discussed. But it did not enter the American view that the word could be construed in a moral and political sense as a reference to German policies.

This formula of the Lansing note was the contractual basis of the Allied claim to reparations. It excluded claims for war costs or indemnities. In later discussions the French and British delegations tried to escape from this limitation, while the American delegation worked to hold the terms of the treaty to conformity with the Lansing note. When in the records of the negotiations there appear drafts of reparations clauses containing the phrase "aggression * * * by land, sea and from the air," the expression signalizes that an effort is being made to keep the language of the treaty as close as possible to the language of the Lansing note. On the basis of evidence now at hand this seems to be the pedigree of the word "aggression" in Article 231.

THE DEBATES IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE COMMISSION

Despite the fact that Lloyd George had signed away the right to demand war costs from Germany, he promised the British people in the General Election of December, 1918, that he would make the Germans pay the entire costs of the war. The French people were equally expectant that "Germany will pay all." Thus it came about that the second stage in the drafting of reparations terms consisted of an attempt by the French and British delegations to establish that Germany could be held for war costs because she had started the war.

When the Peace Conference Commission on Reparations met in February, 1919, it found a French memorandum on principles of reparations arguing for "integral reparations," that is, war costs, on the ground that the ordinary law of

Company, New York. Hereinafter cited as "Miller Diary."

²Mermeix (Gabriel Terrail): *Les négociations secrètes et les quatre armistices*, and Seymour: *Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, Vol. IV, give the best accounts of these negotiations.

³Memorandum of John Foster Dulles, Feb. 7, 1919, in Miller Diary V, 204.

torts makes a wrongdoer liable for all the consequences of his wrongful act.⁴ John Foster Dulles of the American delegation countered with a memorandum asserting that "reparation would not be due for all damage caused by the war unless the war in its totality were an illegal act."⁵ But the law of 1914 permitted war-making.

The British delegation opposed the American view in a memorandum of Feb. 10: "The war itself was an act of aggression and wrong; it was, therefore, a wrong for which reparation is due."⁶ The Italian memorandum of Feb. 15 made the same claim: "An enemy who is responsible for an unjust act of aggression owes to [the victims] * * * full reparations for the costs of their defense."⁷

A full dress debate, extending from Feb. 10 to Feb. 19, then took place in the Commission on Reparations. The British led the argument for war costs; Dulles replied that the Allies were bound by the terms of the Lansing note; all the powers save Belgium lined up with the British delegation.⁸ The debate ended in a complete deadlock on Feb. 19, when it was voted to refer back to the Supreme Council the question, formulated by the French, "The right to reparations of the Allied and Associated Powers is entire (integral)." The Supreme Council refused to act on this formula when it came before them on March 1, partly because President Wilson was then absent, and partly because interest

was shifting from the abstract right to recover reparations to the more practical problem of the total sum that could be recovered. At Lansing's suggestion the commission was instructed to draft alternative reports, covering either the inclusion or rejection of the war costs claim.⁹

While the decision upon the principle of reparations hung fire, Dulles came forward on Feb. 22 with a draft proposal which vaguely anticipated the language of Article 231:

"I. The German Government undertakes to make full and complete reparations, as hereinafter provided, for damage as hereinafter defined, done by the aggression of Germany and/or its allies to the territories and populations of the nations with which the German Government has been at war."¹⁰

On Feb. 26 this draft took shape as follows: "I. The German Government recognizes its complete legal and moral responsibility for all damage and loss, of the character set forth in the schedule annexed hereto."¹¹

The explicit linking of the words "legal and moral" in this draft illustrates the degree to which juristic and ethical arguments had been intertwined and entangled in the discussion on principles of reparation. No one had disputed the thesis of German war guilt; the dogma of a war-guilty nation was itself subjected neither to criticism nor discussion. In the drafting of all parts of the treaty this dogma was called upon to justify cruel and unworkable demands—the reparations demands among others. The record of the debates in the commission, in so far as they are accessible, gives no evidence that the delegates of any power strove at this time to make use of the reparations section of the treaty to wring from Germany a confession of war guilt. The dialectic use made of the war-guilt legend in the reparations debate was not unlike the use made of it in the debate on Rhineland

⁴French memorandum of Feb. 1, 1919, from Minutes of Reparations Commission quoted in Miller Diary XIX, 267. (Also in Annex to Klotz: *De la guerre a la paix*. Paris, 1924.)

⁵Dulles memorandum of Feb. 4, in Miller Diary V, 147-148. (It is not certain that this memorandum was presented or used; in any case, it expresses the American view.)

⁶⁻⁷British and Italian memoranda, from the Minutes of the Commission on Reparations, as cited in Miller Diary XIX, 268.

⁸Baruch: *The Making of the Economic and Reparations Section of the Treaty*, New York, 1920, prints a good account of the debate, with stenographic minutes of some of the speeches. An excellent abstract of the arguments on both sides is printed in the Miller Diary.

⁹Minutes of the Council of Ten (B. C., 42), March 1, 1919, printed in full in Miller Diary.

¹⁰Miller Diary VI, 21.

¹¹*Ibid.* VI, 54.

occupation or German disarmament. The dogma of German moral and political war responsibility was brought forward to serve as a supplementary basis of reparations liability, different from the contractual basis of liability established in the Lansing note.

PLANS TO INCLUDE A SPECIAL GUILT-ACKNOWLEDGMENT ARTICLE IN THE TREATY

The project to require of Germany a definite acknowledgment of her war guilt was brought forward in the Peace Conference as a matter entirely distinct from the reparations problem. Already, on Nov. 21, 1918, the French Government, in an official plan for the agenda of the Peace Conference, had included:

"VII. Stipulations of a moral order. (Recognition by Germany of the responsibility and premeditation of her directors, which will place in the front rank ideas of justice and responsibility, and will legitimate the measures of penalization and precaution taken against her * * *)." ¹²

Again, in connection with the drafting of the Covenant, the French delegation tried to insert in the preamble a condemnation of "those who had visited upon the world the war just ended."¹³ One of the first acts of the Peace Conference was to set up a Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and provisions for their punishment. This commission reported on March 29 in language which constitutes an extreme statement of the war-guilt myth: "The war was premeditated by the Central Powers, together with their Allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and was the result of acts deliberately committed in order to make it unavoidable."¹⁴

The idea that the treaty should stand as a whole upon the theory of German

war guilt is expressed in Lloyd George's famous memorandum of March 25, setting forth his enlightened views on the terms of peace: "The settlement * * * must do justice to the Allies, by taking into account Germany's responsibility for the origin of the war."¹⁵

The preamble to the Treaty of Versailles is expressive of this same theory, for it designates the war by listing chronologically the Austro-Hungarian and German war declarations and referring to the invasion of Belgium. The final indictment of Germany by the Allies, summed up in Clemenceau's harsh covering letter of June 6, 1919, related not to the particular provisions of the reparations section of the treaty but in general to the treaty as a whole.

There is no disputing the fact that those who drew up the Treaty of Versailles entertained the conviction that Germany was war-guilty and made use of this conviction in justifying the reparations clauses of the treaty among others. But did they choose to write an expression of this belief into the text of Article 231? For an answer to this question we must turn to that period of the negotiations in which the text was formulated.

THE DRAFTING OF ARTICLE 231

As February turned to March and March to April, it became increasingly clear that the size of the sum to be demanded of Germany was a fact of greater moment than the theoretical nature of the German liability. This orientation of interest was already evident in Balfour's remarks in the Council of Ten on March 1, and when, on March 10, reparations were discussed in a special conference by Clemenceau, House and Lloyd George, the problem of the total amount was uppermost. The three de-

¹²*Ibid.* II, 16.

¹³Miller: *The Drafting of the Covenant*, New York, 1928, I, 229-230; II, 299, 476. (Records of the ninth meeting of Commission on League of Nations, Feb. 13, 1919.)

¹⁴This part of the report of the Commission on Responsibilities is accessible in many editions, notably in English in the *German White Book on the Responsibilities of the Authors of the War*, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

¹⁵"Some considerations for the Peace Conference before they finally draft their terms," *Memorandum circulated by the Prime Minister on March 25, 1919*. Great Britain, *Command Papers*, 1922, Vol 23, Cmd. 1614, p. 5. (Baker: *Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement*, II, 495, wrongly attributes this memorandum to General Bliss; in this error he has been followed by von Wegerer in *Wiederlegung des Versailler Kriegsschuldspruches*, Berlin, 1928.)

cided to set up a small secret committee, consisting of Davis, Montague and Loucheur, "to discuss the question of reparations. Both Clemenceau and Lloyd George stated that they hoped a large sum would be settled upon, because of the political situation in the Chamber of Deputies and Parliament. They were perfectly willing to have the sum called 'reparations.'"¹⁶ The minutes of this conference indicate an almost cynical indifference to the question of principle that had aroused the commission in the preceding month, and a perfectly frank recognition that it would be distressing to disillusion the French and British people as to the real amount of the prospective reparations revenue.

The moral question slips into the background as the next draft of Article 231 appears. On March 19 the British and Americans agreed on the tentative text: "The loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a direct and necessary consequence of the war begun by Germany and her Allies is upward of 40,000,000,000 sterling [\$200,000,000,000]." This text was modified next day by substituting for "the war begun by Germany" the phrase, "the war imposed upon them by the enemy States." On March 24 the text was retained, except that the 40,000,000,000 pounds was commuted to 800,000,000,000 marks.¹⁷ The intention of the drafting committee in constructing this formula was expressed by Lamont, the American member, in his covering letter: "The thought was that for political reasons it might be wise to have the Germans admit the enormous financial loss to which the world had been subjected by the war which they had begun."¹⁸

Thus the wish of Lloyd George and Clemenceau "that the sum might be large" is being complied with, although the secret Committee of Three, appointed on March 10, had reported that the maximum sum collectable from Germany was

\$30,000,000,000 — one-seventh of the amount named in the article. The discrepancy was taken care of by the ensuing article of the draft, prefiguring Article 232 of the treaty, by recognizing that "the financial and economic resources of the enemy States are not unlimited, and that it will therefore be impractical for the enemy States to make complete reparation for the loss and damage above stated, resulting from the aggression of such enemy States."

The language of March 24 is very near to the final language of the treaty. And its intention is legal, formal, financial, not moral. The word "aggression" is used as in the Lansing note, to mean invasion; the phrase relating to the outbreak of the war was originally "war begun by Germany." The sense of the language in this respect is like the language of the preamble to the treaty. It does not impugn German honor; it leaves open the question of premeditation and political policies generally.

In the subsequent negotiations, of which we can construct a fairly complete record by putting together the evidence offered by Baker, Keynes, House, Baruch, Lamont, Klotz, Tardieu and Miller,¹⁹ it appears that the most important issues were three: (1) The French and British wished to have war pensions included as reparations; (2) Wilson wished to avoid naming a fantastic sum as the total of the German debt; (3) the French wished to exact assurance that Germany would pay "at whatever cost to herself."

The concession relating to war pensions, although the most important at the time, does not bear directly upon the present question. Wilson yielded to the persuasive appeal of the Smuts memorandum of March 31.

Wilson's arguments in the Council of Four on March 30 had a more direct influence upon the drafting of Article 231. The draft of March 24 came before the

¹⁶Miller Diary VI, 316. The report of this committee, dated March 20, 1919, is printed in Baker, *op. cit.*, III, 376-379.

¹⁷Baker: *Op. cit.*, III, 387.

¹⁸Miller Diary VII, 147.

¹⁹In addition to the works already cited (Miller, Klotz, Baruch, House and Baker), Tardieu: *La Paix*, Paris, 1921, and the article by Lamont in House: *What Really Happened at Paris*, New York, 1921, as well as Keynes: *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, New York and London, 1920, throw light on this period of the negotiations.

Council, slightly modified by reducing the sum mentioned from 40,000,000,000 to 30,000,000,000 pounds. But "President Wilson said he did not like the mention of the particular sum stated in the memorandum." He asked, moreover, that the text be brought nearer to the language of the Lansing note.²⁰ Acting under this instruction, the American experts, on March 31, drafted a text which substituted for the specific sum a general acknowledgment of "responsibility," and elaborated the statement relating to the beginning of the war by adding the word "aggression"—a word which, in the circumstances, must have come from the Lansing note.

At the meeting of financial experts on March 31 the French withdrew to prepare a proposed amendment, and the British and Americans continued in session.²¹ On April 1 the British and Americans came to agreement on the text: "The Allied and Associated Governments affirm the responsibility of the enemy States for all the loss and damage to which the A. and A. Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a direct and necessary consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of the enemy States * * *." Here the two ambiguous words, "responsibility" and "aggression," appear in a context not much different from that which they were finally given.

Fortunately, we have a memorandum expressing the intent of the experts on April 1, when they drew up the text: "It has been agreed between them that Mr. Lloyd George's plan shall be in substance adopted, that is to say: 1. That Germany shall be compelled to admit her financial liability for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and their property by the aggression of the enemy States by land, by sea and from the air, and, also, for damage resulting from their acts in violation of formal engagements and of

the law of nations. * * *"²² The draft is thus intended as a statement of legal liability, not moral guilt.

Meanwhile Klotz is out preparing the French amendments. Will he seek to introduce the guilt element into the text? Far from it. The French delegation is not trying to substitute a moral declaration on pre-war history for a legal recognition of liability. On the contrary, it is trying to make the recognition of liability more decisive. The Klotz draft, as it is put into shape on April 5, after coming before the Council of Four, runs as follows: "The Allied and Associated Powers require and the enemy States accept that the enemy States, at whatever cost to themselves, make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population * * * and to their property by the aggression of the enemy States by land, by sea and from the air."²³

The men who are now whipping the language into shape are not thinking of anything but the amount and degree of financial liability which Germany can be made to assume. The emotional pronouncements on war guilt which had characterized the debates of February are no longer in evidence. The only contribution of the Klotz draft to the permanent language of Article 231 is the phrase, "and the enemy States accept." The Klotz draft of April 5 was referred to a drafting committee consisting of Lamont, Keynes and Loucheur, and reported back to the Council of Four on April 7. The drafting committee had simply gone back to the language of the text of April 1. The phrase from the Klotz draft, "and the enemy States accept," was restored in the meeting of the Council of Four on April 7. It then remained only to substitute "Germany and her Allies" for "the enemy States," and Article 231 emerged in its final form.²⁴

At this time the attention of the Council of Four was much more seriously taken up with the language of Article 232. The text of Article 232 was debated and changed on April 7, while Article 231 rode along on the basis of the agree-

²⁰Minutes of the Council of Four (IC 169 C), as abstracted in Miller Diary XIX, 288-289.

²¹"Memorandum of progress with the Reparations settlement," in Baker, *op. cit.*, III, 397.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Miller Diary VII, 488-490.

²⁴*Ibid.* XIX, 288-289.

ments reached April 1.²⁵ We have, therefore, the documentary proof of the intention of those who drafted Article 231, namely, the memorandum made at the time of drafting and quoted above. This memorandum established that the negotiators who drew up Article 231 intended the words "responsibility" and "aggression" in the juristic, not the moral-political sense.

With the submission of the treaty to the German delegation there began a debate which has continued to the present day, linking war guilt and reparations liability. The German delegation interpreted Article 231 in a moral sense. Their translation leaned to the moral reading of the article.²⁶ They assumed that it was based upon the report of the Commission on the Responsibilities of the Authors of the War, and called for the report of that commission, which Clemenceau refused them. In point of fact the report of the commission was not embodied in Article 231, for the article had taken shape by March 24, whereas the report of the commission was not made until March 29. In his correspondence with the German delegation Clemenceau explained that the word "aggression" in Article 231 went back to the use of the same word in the Lansing note.²⁷ His explanation happened to be true, although his argument on it was shifty. When the representatives of the Allied Governments set forth in their

final ultimatum their most emphatic statement of the war guilt thesis, they were discussing not Article 231 or the reparations section alone but the whole treaty, in all its parts.

The idea that Article 231 is a guilt article has grown lustily since 1919. Entente statesmen have found it convenient to refer to a German acknowledgment of war guilt, and German patriots have welcomed a definite text, to the revision of which they can direct their efforts. On the other hand, in cases involving legal interpretation, the juristic reading of Article 231 has prevailed. For instance, in the case of *Rousseau vs. Germany*, argued before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal of Paris in 1921, it was decided that the German Government had to pay for the equipment of a certain truffle factory on grounds derived from a legal reading of Article 231.²⁸

It is time that the ambiguity of this article should be resolved. This could easily be accomplished by a declaration on the part of the Entente Governments, stating that in their view the language of the article has only a juristic, not a moral-political meaning. Such a declaration would put an end to the present uncertainty which permits the article to mean one thing in the chamber of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal and another thing in the French Chamber of Deputies. The declaration would also serve a good purpose in quieting title to reparations. This latter is at present an important consideration. If our government is anxious that in any project for commercializing the reparations payments, there be no confusion of reparations liability with the question of inter-allied debts, our investors will be equally desirous that there be no confusion of reparations and the war guilt question. Americans will not wish to have their titles to an investment compromised by the agitation of the *Kriegsschuldfrage*; neither will they wish to have their attitude upon the question of the origins of the war become a matter engaging their economic interests.

²⁵*Ibid.* 291 ff.

²⁶Binkley & Mahr: "*Eine studie zur Kriegsschuldfrage*," in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Feb. 28, 1926; "A new interpretation of the Responsibility Clause of the Versailles Treaty," by the same authors, in *CURRENT HISTORY*, June, 1926.

²⁷Brockdorff-Rantzau's note of May 13 protested against basing reparations claims on the ground that Germany was author (*Urheber*) of the war; May 20 Clemenceau replied by arguing that the word "aggression" in the Lansing note closed the debate as to the basis of Germany's liability. May 24 Brockdorff-Rantzau replied that Germany, in accepting the Lansing note "did not admit Germany's alleged responsibility for the origin of the war or for the merely incidental fact that the formal declaration of war had emanated from Germany." These texts in many printed sources, especially Kraus & Roediger: *Urkunden zum Friedensvertrage von Versailles vom 28. Juni, 1919*, Berlin, 1920, I.

²⁸*Recueil des décisions des Tribunaux Arbitraux Mixtes*, 1921, p. 379.

The Age of the Earth

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

THE age of the earth upon which we live has been an interesting subject for speculation and research ever since some primitive man wondered whence he came and how long the solid earth at his feet had existed. During the era of modern science which has not yet reached the end of its first century there has been a growing realization that this earth has been in existence much longer than man was first willing to concede. Early geologists, measuring the age of the earth by the salt concentrations of the seas or the wearing away of rocks, were unwilling to provide the biologists with a sufficiently long period of time for the operation of the process of evolution which populated the earth with plants, animals and finally man.

Now the geologists and physicists studying not only the earth but all the far-flung universe are more generous in their estimates of the age of the earth, sun and other heavenly bodies. The latest estimate of the earth's age has been announced by Sir Ernest Rutherford, famous British physicist and Nobel prize winner, as about 3,400,000,000 years. This figure is deduced as the result of a study of photographs made by Dr. F. W. Aston of the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, England. By means of an instrument called the mass spectrograph it is possible to make photographs which allow the determination of the weight of the atoms of many elements. Dr. Aston has shown that many elements consist of two or more separate kinds of stuff each with slightly different atomic weights, despite the fact they are all the same element. These different forms of the same element are called isotopes.ordi-

nary lead, for instance, consists of several such isotopes. One of these isotopes of lead is obtained as the final result of a series of elements into which radium disintegrates.

Dr. Aston studied lead from a rare Norwegian mineral called *Bröggerite*, which was extracted for him by Dr. C. S. Piggot of the Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In his photographs he found a line showing the presence of lead of atomic weight 207. This could not be ordinary lead which has a different weight. There are three radioactive processes which result in lead being produced, radium, thorium and actinium being the three raw materials. Dr. Aston believes the 207 isotope is the result of the break-up of actinium, about the disintegration of which less is known than of the other two series.

Sir Ernest, one of the greatest authorities on radium and its allied elements, states that Dr. Aston's conclusion is a reasonable one. Both radium and actinium are descendants of uranium, a well-known element. Sir Ernest believes that a form of uranium which he calls actino-uranium is one of the ancestors of actinium. Actino-uranium is present in ordinary uranium to the extent of about a quarter of 1 per cent. It is natural to suppose that the uranium in our earth has its origin in the sun and has been decaying since the separation of the earth from the sun.

Judging from the behavior of similar elements, the actino-uranium would be formed in the sun to a less extent than the main isotope. But even if it is supposed that they were formed in equal quantity, he says, it can be shown that

it would only take about 3,400,000,000 years to bring it down to the twenty-eight hundredths of one per cent in which it is present today. Supposing that the production of uranium in the earth ceased as soon as the earth separated from the sun, it follows that the earth cannot be older than 3,400,000,000 years. Other studies of radioactive minerals have shown that some of them must have an age of at least half this figure, so that his calculations give students of the earth's early history both a maximum and a minimum for its age.

Sir James Jeans, British astronomer, gives the age of the sun as 7,000,000,000,000,000 years. If the earth separated from it 3,400,000,000 years ago, the sun had then reached the rather respectable age of 6,996,600,000,000 years. The time since is scarcely more than a moment in the sun's history.

From his studies Sir Ernest concludes that there are being produced in the sun complex elements like uranium and this proposition is even more important than an estimate on the age of the earth. Ordinary sources of energy are entirely inadequate to explain the stoking of the stars, including the sun. The modern conception of the source of energy in the stars is that matter is being transformed into energy. If elements are transmuted in such a way that the electrons and nuclei of the atoms are redistributed into forms involving less energy, then energy will be emitted during this process and the stars can be kept producing the light and heat.

IS THE UNIVERSE RUNNING DOWN?

But there is a source of worry to scientists in this idea. If the matter is being transformed into energy, then the universe is running down. Eventually, unless some process of the creation of matter exists, all the matter in the universe will be transformed. Scientists, therefore, are hopefully searching for creation of matter in some outlying part of the universe by some process of which there is at present no inkling. Dr. Walter S. Adams, director of the Mount Wilson Observatory of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, recently sum-

marized this dilemma of science as follows:

"If several atoms of the simplest of all elements, hydrogen, were to be combined to form one atom of a more complex element, about .008 of the mass of each atom would be lost in the change and would be released in the form of energy. For example, were a pound of hydrogen transformed into helium, an atom of which is made up of four hydrogen atoms, the result would be .992 pound of helium and .008 pound of energy. This last figure sounds very small, but .008 pound of energy is rather more than 430,000,000,000 horsepower a second. So if we can think of the sun as originally a mass of hydrogen gas, which has gradually been transformed into the various elements that we now find within it, the energy released in the process would keep the sun shining for about 10,000,000,000 years. The time-scale provided for in this way seems to be ample even for the vast periods required by cosmological history.

"A second conceivable way by which energy is supplied in the stars is that which would take place if matter were being annihilated. If instead of concluding that a part of the atomic energy is released by the transmutation of elements, we assume that it may all be made available by the complete annihilation of matter, our supply of energy would become very much greater. In this case our pound of hydrogen would give us a pound of energy instead of .008 pound, and our total supply would be multiplied by a factor of 125. Our sun, on this hypothesis, would be radiating away its mass at the rate of 120,000,000,000,000 tons a year and the material now contained in it would be sufficient to maintain the present rate for about 15,000,000,000,000 years longer. At the end of that time, however, no mass would be left.

"One final consideration of profound interest is that of the possible reversibility of the process of radiation. If matter can be annihilated to produce energy, can energy recombine, as it were, to form matter? Of the energy poured out by the sun less than one two-hundred-

millionth part is intercepted by the planets, and a quite negligible amount by the stars, while the flood of radiation from the stars themselves passes out into the remote space quite unchecked except for the small quantities absorbed by the nebulae. Is it possible that radiation is finally reflected back from the boundaries of a limited space, or do we have in the nebulae some mechanism by which the energy released from matter can be stored up once more in the form of atoms and electrons? Such considerations are purely speculative, for we know of no process of this kind. If it does exist, we can picture our physical universe as renewing itself and perpetually changing; if it does not exist and energy is finally dissipated, the end will be that pictured in the first chapter of Genesis: 'And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.'

ORIGIN OF HUMAN RACE

Man, in his present high state, has existed only a mere second of the earth's long history. Anthropologists and geologists are continually discovering new facts about the past of the human race. The whole story of man's rise to his present eminence among the animals of the earth is by no means known in all its details. Upland plateaus with their partly wooded prairies and forest edges, rather than the warm jungles of the tropics, were the birthplace of the human race, according to Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History. On these highlands early man would have been forced to use his wits and speed to pursue the agile game that lives in such regions. There also he had a stock of good flints to use when the tool-making stage of his development arrived.

The ape-man of Java, *Pithecanthropus erectus*, is not an ancestor of man at all,

Dr. Osborn thinks. He represents rather a somewhat remote cousin who, because he wandered off into the warm tropics where living was easy and where there was little opportunity or incentive for tool-making, became unprogressive and remained physically and mentally primitive for ages, while his harder-pressed kinsmen to the north and west responded to their less favorable environment by conquering it and becoming real men in the process.

Dr. Osborn rejects the whole Darwinian idea of a recent close connection between humankind and the great apes, on anatomical as well as geographical grounds. The tailless apes, considered to be man's closest relative among the animals, are too different in many respects, and too highly specialized in these differences, to be looked upon as "contemporary ancestors," he says. The hands and arms of the apes are developed with special reference for tree climbing, and are in this respect much more highly evolved than the relatively unspecialized hand and arm of man. But the hand of man, with its exceedingly flexible fingers and opposable thumb, is an instrument of manipulation such as no ape or other animal ever dreamed of having. Together with his highly organized brain, with which it grew up, the human hand represents a long evolution separate from any ape. To reach its present state it must have been freed from the burden of tree-climbing and from any other assistance in locomotion for many millennia; and this, Dr. Osborn argues, could have occurred only in a ground-dwelling pre-human or early human stage, ranging in a partly open region. Such a region, he thinks, was offered by the plains of Mongolia three or four geological periods ago. As an alternative possibility, however, he also suggests the highlands of Africa.

Aerial Events of the Month

THE past month has been one of depressing disasters in the aerial world. On March 17 a giant Ford air transport crashed near Newark, N. J., killing thirteen persons, mortally injuring a fourteenth, and severely injuring the pilot, Lou Foote. Investigation showed that at least one of the three motors of the plane failed, and that the pilot in an effort to make an emergency landing was unable to keep the plane in the air and crashed into a metal freight car on one of the tracks of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, cutting the plane sharply in two and crushing all the passengers. A report on March 28 stated that the causes of the crash were three: (1) motor failure; (2) improper piloting; (3) pilot's ignorance of the Newark territory. The last two causes have been strongly refuted, and actually nothing has been determined.

Another crash occurred on March 30 in the San Geronimo Pass, between Los Angeles and El Paso. A passenger plane, lost in the fog, crashed into the side of the mountain and exploded. The pilot and three passengers were killed. A plane with four aboard was lost in a flight from Norfolk, Va., to Curtiss Field. Planes and vessels and even the lighter-than-air craft Los Angeles searched for it, spurred on by a reward of \$10,000, but nothing has been found.

In contrast to these halts in aerial development is the increasing progress in the field of air mail service. The bi-monthly service from Miami to Cristobal, Panama, has been increased to a tri-weekly service, and final arrangements have been made for an extension of this service from the Canal Zone to Santiago, Chile. A government report in the early part of March stated that on Feb. 28 there were 35,045 air miles being covered in postal service. In England on March 30 Sir Samuel Hoare, Air Minister,

opened an air service from London to India, by himself embarking on the first leg of the journey to Alexandria.

Two more solo endurance records have been broken. One by Louise McPhetridge, who flew for 22 hours and 3 minutes, proves that the rising tide of aerial feminism is not to be put back. The other record was made by Martin Jensen, who now holds the world solo air endurance record of 35 hours and 33 minutes aloft.

Spain is not to be outdone by the rest of the world, and to prove it Francisco Jimenez and Ignacio Iglesias made a transatlantic hop from Seville to Bahia, Brazil. Their goal was Rio de Janeiro, but lack of gasoline forced them down. The Spanish nation is jubilant over their successful flight of the South Atlantic, believing this another step toward the opening of an air mail service with South America.

The Graf Zeppelin has further proved its worth by making a non-stop flight of 5,000 miles over the Mediterranean and the Near East to the Holy Land and back to Friedrichshafen. The cruise lasted eighty-one hours and was uneventful from the point of view of danger or accident.

In the Antarctic this has been a most hazardous month. Winter is setting in and the final attempt by members of the Byrd expedition to make an exploration flight almost proved fatal. Three aviators in the early part of the month flew over the so-called Rockefeller range on a trip of geological exploration. They landed successfully and made preparations for examining the territory. On March 17 radio communication between these men and the Byrd base ceased and could not be resumed. Two days later, in desperation, Commander Byrd flew off in the face of bad weather conditions and finally found the men quite safe.

America in the British Press

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

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CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

THE American visitor to England, after marveling at the advancing splendor of London, after wondering at the rush and roar of national life, the whirl of the looms, and the sirens of the enormous national merchant fleet; after repletion with badly roasted mutton and unceasing "spuds," normally betakes himself to the American Express office or to Brown, Shipley & Co. to read the latest received American papers. Even if ten days behind in date, they tell him more about England than some renowned English journals. As for American news, one gets at least the flavor from the editions of *The New York Herald* and *The Chicago Tribune* published in Paris. If an experienced American, the visitor does not dream of any detailed information in those papers of the significant things going on in his own country; and finds little on the vital occurrences of political and international European affairs.

The tired American, as he takes the boat train for his homeward-bound steamer, may lay in a stock of all the seven or eight London papers offered for sale that morning at Waterloo Station, and set himself the task of going through them and extracting what they say about the United States of America and the people thereof. On every principle of journalism, he expects a lot of news and information. Is not the United States one of the greatest markets, one of the greatest investment fields, and by all odds the wealthiest sister nation of Great Britain? Are not hundreds of millions of British pounds invested in the United States? Have not the two countries within a few years been allies fighting a desperate battle by land and sea?

Have not the two peoples the same literature, the same general principles of law, the same principles of popular government? What about the very intimate financial relations between the two governments and between the two money markets? Is not England visited every year now by hundreds of thousands of sight-seeking Americans? Is there not at the present moment an effort to bring the two nations into accord over the very difficult question of sea power and world peace?

Whatever may be in the English mind there is nothing on these terrifically important questions—if one is to judge by the contents of the English newspapers. Journalism in England is in a really pitiable state. Gone are those great days when the *London Times*—the "Thunderer"—sent its correspondents all over the world and from day to day placed before its readers summaries of world events by correspondents, such as Blowitz, who were international characters. Gone is the time when impressive editorials concentrated the thought and inspired the action of English public men.

England has its tabloids, and they are just as dreary and sensational and unreadable as their American cousins. Nobody expects either news or views from them. One does, however, feel entitled to look for both news articles and editorials in *The Times* or *The Telegraph* or *The Mail* or *The Manchester Guardian*, which considers itself "The Last of the Mohicans" in English journalism. It is this group that the traveler encounters if he assembles all the papers on the stand on a weekday morning.

England is a commercial country, and

therefore in the issues of (say) March 18, 1929, you will expect to find detailed shipping news such as appears from day to day in the New York papers, and in some (not all) of the leading dailies there will be lists of the steamers due to sail during the week, and also a statement of the whereabouts of a great number of steamships. Likewise, a list of wrecks and casualties, including accidents in American ports. Something on marine insurance and losses, and quotations of ocean freight rates. That is all. No special news, and no discussion of shipping problems.

Markets receive great attention; there are columns of quotations and a little comment on cotton, sugar, lard, coffee, wool, metals and rubber, with prices of American staple products. Much more important to the English appears to be the American stock market. *The Telegraph* and some other papers quote rates of exchange and stocks and bonds, including "kerb stocks." Another column deals with the quotations of the New York Stock Exchange, and also of the Canadian. That is, quotations are abundant because the English are an investing people. Naturally, there is discussion of the controversy over the new stock issues of the General Electric Company; and *The Daily Mail* admits that "the original conditions attending the issue were clearly unjust to American shareholders." *The Express* publishes what purports to be a cable headed "Super-machine to Save Wall Street," which proves to be only an improved form of ticker. *The Mail* includes also an article on a suggested European combine "to meet American invasion." The financial comment in all the papers together might make up half a page of a New York morning daily. A little attention is paid to the emigrant question, bringing out the fact that the Welsh port of Cardiff is arranging to send 2,000 emigrants over.

Outside these questions of private business a few items are devoted to catastrophes. It appears that "many passengers" were killed in the impact of a sight-seeing airplane at Newark meadows, which "crashed into the trucks of a

long goods train." Several papers notice devastating floods in the "Coon End" State, thereby intending Alabama. Even *The Times* has become aware of this calamity, and it is briefly noticed in other papers.

The Chronicle, *The Express*, *The Mirror* and *The Times* contain a few brief gossip items, such as the world-significant statement that the United States Postmaster General may furnish postoffices with "a glass-top table, with chairs, for writing telegrams." It appears that the Postmaster General was in conference on this critical subject with the Assistant Secretary of the Postoffice Workers' Union. *The Express* indulges in the surprising deductions of Professor Ogburn of the University of Chicago to the effect that about one out of five marriages eventually end in divorce. The world is informed by *The Mirror* that "Capablanca, the world's chess champion, sails from New York on Friday." We also are electrified by the information that the Dayton Westminster Choir will give five concerts in England; and that Major General Daniel Appleton, formerly of the New York National Guard, is dead. Apparently no other American died in the previous twenty-four hours. That there are living, vital, active men and women in the United States who do things that remain apparently unknown to the London press.

In one field English journalism has been pre-eminent for a century; and that is its intelligence about the relations of Great Britain with other countries, and the state of mind of foreign governments and peoples. Apparently what for decades have been known as the leading English dailies are little concerned about anything that happens in the Western Hemisphere. One paper is aware that there is a civil war in Mexico, and another's own correspondent in Ottawa discusses the question of emigration into Canada. Otherwise there is very little in these newspapers on that important sub-nation—once a colony. *The Telegraph* rolls under its tongue that sweet morsel, the dispute over the liquor for the Siamese Legation at Washington.

Two English statesmen in the last

sixty years have recognized that the future of Great Britain requires not only peace with the United States but cordial feeling. Gladstone, in 1868, gave up the principle of the rights of English commerce to evade a blockade, and accepted certain rules which made it certain that the ensuing Geneva arbitral tribunal must decide against England. He saw the value of concord with the United States. Lord Salisbury, in 1896, yielded to President Cleveland and Secretary Olney in the Venezuela controversy, because he saw that the friendship of the United States was worth any amount of South American territory. There is nothing in the ordinary issues of the London press which bore upon such issues on March 18, except a featured article in *The Express* from Constantinople, setting forth that Trotsky expects America to come to an understanding with Russia, and that would leave Great Britain out.

What about the general conditions of the United States? With reference to British interests, so far as the evidence of the daily issues of March 18 goes, the London public (and presumably the English public) has no interest in that question. Greyhound races, football, cricket, the favorite horse, scanty and Bowdlerized police reports are the staple of all the papers. They have no room for such questions as accord with the United

States, or an understanding of public sentiment in the United States toward England.

Of course, the British Government has plenty of American intelligence from its Ambassador and Consuls in the United States; otherwise it could not get on from week to week. The English public, including nine-tenths of the voters, have no opportunity of knowing what America is like, or what are the vital questions of common interest, or of counter-policies. There is more on England in one issue of one great metropolitan newspaper of the United States than in all the London papers on America for a week. Hence, Americans, through their newspapers and still more through their travels, form their own estimate of the English people and their aspirations.

Of course, the ruling class in Great Britain is sagacious and far seeing and well informed. There is no lack of British policy or of British knowledge of the conditions of the country and the dangers which confront it. Nevertheless, if one may judge by the self-chosen instruments of public opinion and public enlightenment in the great capital of the British Empire, the mass of the British voters have neither knowledge nor interest in that which is most vital for the perpetuation of the empire; namely, a cordial and mutual understanding with the United States.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Steps Toward an International Bank

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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IT may very well be that the plans for an international bank that have been elaborated by the Experts Committee in Paris during the last month are as significant in the organization of the peace of the world as were those that established the League of Nations. Henri Bérenger, a former French Am-

bassador, says of the proposed bank: "It is as necessary now as national banks were a century ago, for nations have become mere provinces. If bankruptcies and ruin, which have followed the years 1914 to 1918, are to be avoided, if a new war, even more atrocious than the last, is to be escaped, there must be financial

understanding between nations, between continents. The day when this entente is realized will be a day of world confidence and world credit. And from that day there will be real association among the nations."

The proposed bank will not be in any sense an intergovernmental organization. Its capital will be privately subscribed and its only formal relation to governments will be through their banks of issue. So far as possible, it will be kept free from political influence. That there will be complete divorce is naturally impossible, but such influences as governments may bring to bear upon it will be very carefully veiled.

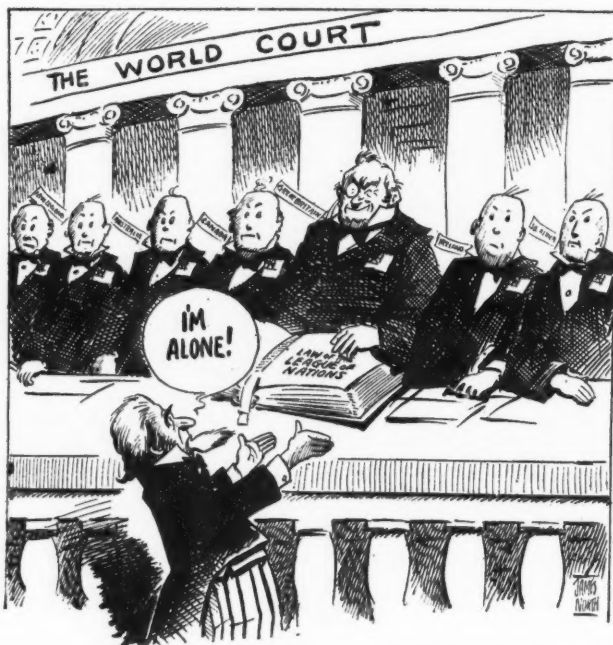
Although Owen D. Young deserves the credit for the inauguration of the scheme, the plan is by no means entirely his. For a number of years there has been more or less constant communication between the heads of the central banks of the larger nations and they have concerted together in the elaboration of their plans. Mr. Morgan has frequently been called into consultation in matters affecting international finance, and most of the other members of the Experts Committee have at one time or another advised regarding reparations, debt payments and foreign loans. These conferences have accustomed the leaders in the financial world to deal together, and there has gradually been developed the idea that has engaged the minds of dreamers and a certain number of intensely practical statesmen for generations—the establishment of an international bank that will relate and direct the financial affairs of the nations and will make them serve as an agency for peace rather than for war. Particularly will it act in the present situation to liquidate

the financial obligations resulting from the war and to transform them into securities that can be sold on the open market, as well as aiding in the restoration of normal relations between the nations.

Obviously, the organization of an institution so complex and of such far-reaching importance as this is a task of great delicacy and difficulty, and the plans thus far made are purely tentative. This is particularly emphasized in the communiqué issued by the experts on March 9. After a short introduction the committee says:

The new machinery may be needed, it is felt, to handle the great new international movements of the funds created by reparations and war debts. The substitution of financial for political machinery should, it is believed, transfer the liquidation of Germany's international obligations from the realm of political discussion to the orderly forms of business that characterize a state of peace.

If such an institution were created, its primary function at the start would be to act as trustee in receiving from Germany such annuities as may be arranged and disbursing these among the creditor nations. As such a link between debtor and creditor, it would facilitate the transfers. It is contemplated that it would



WHAT CHANCE WOULD HE HAVE?

—Washington Post



"—BUT DON'T GO NEAR THE WATER"

—Brooklyn Eagle

finance deliveries in kind, and in important projects coming under the general head of deliveries in kind, it might even, under proper safeguards, finance the residual part of the work.

It also could cooperate with and act as an essential intermediary between all the interested governments and the issuing bankers in marketing such bonds as might be issued for the commercialization of the German annuities.

It could cooperate with existing banks of issue and might if desired receive from these both clearing and investment deposits.

The large amounts of foreign exchange it normally would hold would fit it for a clearing function, and as a reservoir of foreign exchange it might be of distinct service to existing central banks.

The outline as submitted makes clear that, should the plan meet with final approval, the institution to be created would strictly avoid competition with existing commercial and investment banking institutions and would consider it to be a prime necessity to act in close cooperation with existing central banks of issue. In fact, the bank would coordinate and subordinate its activities in any particular country with and to the policies of the existing central bank of that country.

The new bank would be in no sense a superbank to exercise a dominating influence over existing institutions.

The authors of the suggestion believe

that the operations of the new institution would tend to increase and strengthen the cooperation that already has been developed between the central banks and that has been of such marked service during the past several years in restoring the gold standard throughout the world and in otherwise stabilizing financial conditions. It would supplement rather than duplicate existing institutions and it would assist rather than direct.

As to management, the scheme makes clear that the bank, if organized, must be non-political, must be international and free from any dominating financial relationships.

Upon the directorate should sit only men of experience and international repute. As a supplementing directorate, advisory committees are suggested, to be composed in such manner as may be necessary to secure sound opinion in the problems to be dealt with.

The offices of the bank would probably be in one of the smaller countries, where a suitable legal status and freedom from taxation may be obtained.

It is believed that the operations of the bank would be of advantage equally to debtor and creditor nations. With the establishment of such financial machinery Germany would stand on her own feet financially, would have the responsibility for maintaining her own credit and be dealing on a business basis with an international financial institution operated on sound business principles.

In addition to bringing these advantages the bank would be in a position to aid the Reichsbank and other central banks in the work of maintaining the stability of their exchanges and so help in steadying business conditions generally.

To creditor nations it would be valuable as facilitating the uninterrupted flow of annuities and as furnishing readier facilities for the ultimate commercialization of the German debt. The creditor nations also would participate in the profits that the bank reasonably might be expected to earn.

The new bank may serve to fill in possible gaps that now exist in world's banking organizations and particularly such gaps as may have resulted from the new situations created by the reparation and debt settlements.

The initial discussions of the committee next week are expected to clarify the project and bring the committee to a determination as to whether to proceed



EUROPE'S IDEA OF A WORLD BANK
—Washington Post

further with this plan or whether to postpone further consideration of it.

The headquarters of the bank has not been definitely located. It will not be at Geneva, as it is undesirable that its functions should in any way be confused with those of the League. Basle has been suggested, this location being preferred, it is said, by France, Belgium and Italy. The Hague has its partisans, as has also Brussels. Quite certainly it will be in one of the smaller countries.

The suggested capital of \$100,000,000 will be raised by private subscription, as some of the central banks, notably our own Federal Reserve and the Bank of France, are unable, under their charters, to furnish any part of it. Something of the magnitude of its operations may be judged when it is realized that at the start it must handle German reparations, which will total not far from \$8,000,000,000, and the allied debts to the United States at the present figure of \$10,000,000,000. This is far from being the total, as other international business is sure to come to it as soon as it begins to operate. It is likely to be a clearing house for the whole world. The time may come when in its vaults will lie a major part of the world's stock of gold. This will simply be an extension of the system of our own Federal Reserve, which issues to its member banks

gold credits based on specie in its central vaults, and balances are settled without the actual shipment of gold. It may be that at some future day we shall see some form of international currency which will replace the present cumbersome system in which international business settlements must be made by the transformation of dollars and pounds into francs and lire and belgas, schillings and pengös and zlotys.

The plan, so far as it has been outlined, has been very well received by the press both in Europe and in America. Such hostile criticism as it has met has come in every country from the extreme right and the extreme left. The Nationalists fear that it will tend to extend the degree of international financial dominance in national affairs; and the Socialists are disturbed at this further development of the capitalist system. There is no doubt that there are certain dangers involved. Many sober and far-sighted men, of by no means a radical habit of mind, are questioning whether an unlimited control of commerce and industry by the banking interests, unchecked by the popular will, is entirely desirable. That problem must be solved in its own way.

Just what will be the relation of the new bank to our government is not quite clear. As no treaty is involved, the Senate will not be called upon to "advise and consent." As Washington has elaborately explained, our delegates on the Experts Committee have no official status. They are constantly reporting to our Department of State, it is true, but only that the officials there may satisfy an entirely praiseworthy curiosity as to what is going on. In the official view, there is still no possible relation between reparations and war debts, though the news that Mr. Young is sending them must give the Treasury and the State Department food for thought. It is hardly likely that our Treasury would refuse to accept a properly drawn and endorsed check on the new bank in payment of the annuities of France or of Italy, even if the funds had just come from Germany. Money is, after all, money; and the taint of its origin in reparations

would doubtless be removed by its passage through the books of the bank.

Important as these plans are, their elaboration was not the reason for which the experts were assembled. Their main business was to adjust the reparations due from Germany to the Allies. A final settlement of this vexed question has not yet been reached. There has been agreement as to the division of the annuities into two parts, one to be paid without condition, the other to be subject to the ability of Germany to transfer it without disaster. There is a general understanding, too, as to payments in kind. The documents are nearly ready for signature, except for the important fact that wherever figures should appear there are now blanks. Until they can be filled nothing very important has been done, although it was unofficially stated on April 12 that the Allies were asking Germany for annual payments that would start at between \$408,000,000 and \$432,000,000, rise to a maximum of \$576,000,000, and then, at the end of thirty-seven years, return to the starting figure and remain at that for twenty-one years more. These figures would be considerably less than the full, normal Dawes plan payment, which is \$600,000,000 annually. The following day Dr. Schacht declared he would never accept this proposal, though this was not the German delegate's final word.

In this connection, it may be well to keep in mind the very sound remark made by Stephen Bell in a recent number of *Commerce and Finance*: "No financial legerdemain, even by a 'superbank,' can prevent the mark from depreciating eventually if Germany is called upon to pay more than she can produce in the form of export surplus. Marks are no good except in Germany, and the foreign credits from which the reparations must be paid cannot be created except by exports of real value. Every one of the reparations experts knows this perfectly well; but they know also that public opinion in no country is yet able to accept this truth, and so the farce of pretending to collect reparations and international war debts must be kept up for another term of years."

There was very little opposition among the jurists who sat at Geneva to prepare a revision of the statute of the World Court to the ideas embodied in Mr. Root's formula regarding advisory opinions as presented by him on March 11 and printed in the March number of *CURRENT HISTORY*. There was a unanimous desire on the part of all the members of the committee to secure the entrance of the United States to the court and a willingness to do anything in reason to bring it about. The formula was submitted for examination to a subcommittee consisting of Sir Cecil Hurst, Mr. Root and Nicholas Politis, the Greek member, with instructions to prepare a final draft. Their report, submitted on March 18 and unanimously adopted, provides for presenting to the League Council at its next meeting a protocol substantially the same as that of June 23, 1926, in answer to the American reservations, except for the article on advisory opinions. The complete text of the committee's report was printed in *The New York Times* on March 20. The text of the protocol follows:

The States signatories of the protocol of signature of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated Dec. 16, 1920, and the United States of America through the undersigned duly authorized representatives, have agreed upon the following provisions regarding the adherence by the United States of America to the said protocol, subject to the five reserva-



Strange that nothing is ever said about canceling territorial gains, too
—Chicago Tribune

tions formulated by the United States in the resolution adopted by the Senate on Jan. 27, 1926.

Article I—The States signatories of the said protocol accept the special conditions attached by the United States in the five reservations mentioned above to its adherence to the said protocol upon the terms and conditions set out in the following articles.

Article II—The United States shall be admitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the signatory States of the League of Nations represented in the Council, in the Assembly and in any and all proceedings either of the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, provided for in the statute of the court. The vote of the United States shall be counted in determining the absolute majority of votes required for the statutes.

Article III—No amendment of the statute of the court may be made without consent of all the contracting States.

Article IV—The court shall render advisory opinions in public session after notice and opportunity for hearing substantially as provided in the now existing Articles LXXIII and LXXIV of the rules of the court.

Article V—With a view to insuring that the court shall not without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall, through any channel designated for that purpose by the United States, inform the United States of any proposal before the Council or Assembly of the League for obtaining an advisory opinion from the court and thereupon, if desired, an exchange of views shall proceed with all convenient speed between the Council or the Assembly of the League and the United States.

Whenever a request for advisory opinion comes to the court the Registrar shall notify the United States thereof, among the other States mentioned in the now existing Article LXXIII of the rules of the court, stating a reasonable time limit fixed by the President within which a written statement by the United States concerning the request will be received. If for any reason no sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views upon such a request should have been afforded and the United States advises the court that the question upon which the opinion of the court is asked is one that affects the interests of the United States, the proceedings shall be stayed for a period sufficient to enable such an exchange of views between the Council or the Assembly and the United States to take place.

With regard to requesting the advisory opinion of the court in any case covered by the preceding paragraphs, there shall be attributed to an objection of the United States the same force and effect as is attached to a vote against asking for an opinion given by a member of the

League of Nations in the Council or in the Assembly.

If after the exchange of views provided for in paragraphs one and two of this article it shall appear that no agreement can be reached and the United States is not prepared to forego its objection, the exercise of powers of withdrawal provided for in Article VIII, hereof, will follow naturally without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to co-operate generally for peace and goodwill.

Article VI—Subject to the provisions of Article VIII, below, the provisions of the present protocol shall have the same force and effect as the provisions of a statute of the court, and any future signature of the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920, shall be deemed to be an acceptance of the provisions of the present protocol.

Article VII—The present protocol shall be ratified. Each State shall forward the instrument of ratification to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, who shall inform all the other signatory States. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations.

The present protocol shall come into force as soon as all the States which have ratified the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920, and also the United States, have deposited their ratifications.

Article VIII—The United States may at any time notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations that it withdraws its adherence to the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920; the Secretary General shall immediately communicate this notification to all the other States signatories of the protocol.

In such case the present protocol shall cease to be in force as from the receipt by the Secretary General of the notification by the United States.

On their part each of the contracting States may at any time notify the Secretary General of the League that it desires to withdraw its acceptance of the special conditions of the adherence of the United States to the protocol of Dec. 16, 1920. The Secretary General shall immediately give communication of this notification to each of the States signatories of the present protocol. The present protocol shall be considered as ceasing to be in force if and when, within one year from the receipt of the said notification, not less than two-thirds of the contracting States other than the United States shall have notified the Secretary General of the League of Nations that they desire to withdraw their consent to the adhesion of the United States.

Done at — the — day of —, 19—, in a single copy, of which the French and English texts shall both be authoritative.

The substance of Article V in non-technical language is that the United States is to be informed of every request for an advisory opinion. If the United States so desires, there will be an exchange of views regarding it. An

objection of the United States will be given the same weight as that of any member of the League. If no agreement is reached and the League decides that the Court must be asked to deliver the opinion, the United States may then withdraw from the Court.

Despite the fact that before sailing for Europe Mr. Root had consulted with the leading members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, there is likely to be serious opposition in that body to the acceptance of the protocol. Since the League Council must act on

it before it can come before the Senate, the debate must be postponed until December. Senators Borah and Johnson have already in public statements expressed decided opposition.

In addition to its action regarding the membership of the United States, the Committee of Jurists decided to recommend that the number of judges should be increased from eleven to fifteen, four deputy judgeships being abolished; and that the Court should sit in continuous session, the judges acting in rotation, rather than in annual sessions as now.

The League of Nations Month by Month

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

DURING the last couple of months League activities have been increasingly varied. February saw a conference at Genoa on how the world's shipping could be made safer by better and more uniform buoyage and lighting of coasts; a conference in London on removing differences in measuring the tonnage of ships; a conference at Singapore of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Health Organization; two conferences in Paris on international cooperation between museums and libraries; another in Paris on the laws and regulations concerning cartels, and still another in Geneva on the world coal problem. In addition, the Bolivia-Paraguay matter was still simmering; the director of the new International Educational Cinema Institute at Rome was in New York effecting liaison with America's huge cinema interests; and the Deputy Secretary General was visiting Nanking on a mission to the new Chinese Government. Undoubtedly the most important single question was that of America's entrance to the World Court, which is treated elsewhere in this magazine.

A question constantly looming larger on the international horizon is that of large industrial and commercial organi-

zations which spread out over national frontiers into the international area. The World Economic Conference was seriously divided as to their merits. Some felt their concentration of power and resultant efficiency to be highly in the public interest; others were correspondingly alarmed at their possible anti-social effects. Accordingly, a committee of three jurists met in Paris in February to check and complete a survey prepared by the Secretariat of the laws and regulations in force in the different countries, and to prepare a reasoned statement on the nature and evolution of the fundamental policies therein revealed. The following week, at Geneva, a second meeting took place in connection with the world-wide inquiry into the coal problem, labor leaders from nine countries giving their views, following a similar inquiry during January among coal producers. Also, in this general field, the Financial Committee, with Jeremiah Smith of Boston as a member, met in Paris, simultaneously with the reparations discussions, to consider the many items in its current work, especially Bulgarian and Greek reconstruction, the proposed Saar Valley loan and the constitution of the Fiscal Com-

mittee on double taxation and the committee on the present world gold situation.

The most difficult problem before the Council at its meeting in March was undoubtedly that of minorities, which affects some 30,000,000 people in over a dozen countries of Europe, and which in the past has been one of the most common causes of international ill-will. This question, entrusted to the League by a series of treaties, came to a crisis at the Lugano Council meeting in December; at the March session the Canadian representative, Mr. Dandurand, presented a detailed proposal for dealing with petitions received from minority groups. After a vigorous debate, in which the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, was especially active, the Council decided upon a thorough study of its rules of procedure by a committee consisting of the British, Japanese and Spanish members, who will report to the June session.

Further progress was made during March toward the draft convention on financial help to States which are victims of aggression, when the Council decided to communicate to all States members of the League the scheme on which the Financial Committee has been working for nearly three years. This convention is designed to guarantee "to States the possibility of securing rapid and effective financial assistance in time of war or threat of war, so as to increase materially their feeling of security, and thereby enable them to limit their armaments or even to refrain from creating war industries." It carefully avoids the danger of attempting to define the aggressor.

Among the decisions of the Council at its March meeting were the making of detailed arrangements, in which the United States is to be invited to participate, for the creation of the Permanent Statistical Committee provided for by the recent Conference on International Economic Statistics; recommendations concerning future international statistical conferences and special understandings between countries with highly developed statistical systems; pro-

vision for the preparation of a list of ports open to international trade; the transmission to all governments of the Economic Committee's very important conclusions on most-favored-nation treatment in customs matters; the convening on Nov. 5 of an international conference, to which the United States is to be invited, on the treatment of foreigners; the summoning of another conference for June 10 on transit cards for emigrants; a number of decisions regarding the opium traffic, especially the Committee of Inquiry to the Far East, which the American Government has welcomed to the Philippine Islands; and a series of appointments, including that of Former Governor Carl E. Milliken of Maine, high in the motion picture industry in the United States, to the governing body of the Educational Cinematographic Institute of Rome.

The League Committee on Communications and Transit held a general session in March to review the many technical problems entrusted to it. The United States, though not represented upon this committee, has taken part in several of its sub-committees, notably the buoyage and lighting of coasts and the unification of maritime tonnage measurement, and is, therefore, considerably affected by its results.

Another interesting question discussed by this committee was the distribution of wave lengths in broadcasting. Radio development in Europe has been very remarkable in view of the general financial depression. At the end of 1928 over 7,000,000 private radio sets were registered there, exclusive of France, Spain, Belgium and the Netherlands. Without some form of international control, the problem of interference is very great. To meet it the broadcasting associations are cooperating with the League committee to insure an equitable distribution.

During the month a communication was received from the French Government to the effect that the General Act for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, passed at the last Assembly, has been presented to Parliament. This act, if ratified, would not

only make all war practically impossible for France but would provide the most complete system yet devised of alternative measures of peaceful settlement.

Incomparably less important in itself, but possibly far reaching as a precedent, was the deposit on March 21 of the instrument of accession of the United States to the slavery convention. This convention is the purest League document possible, in that it was drafted entirely through the normal procedure of special committee, general questionnaire, Council and Assembly, without

any outside cooperation, either of special conference or of non-member States. Indeed, the only contribution of the United States Government has been the information given in three different notes, that slavery had been abolished in the United States at the end of the Civil War. The Senate, however, did not feel it necessary to affix any reservation concerning the League of Nations, and the first League convention accepted by the United States was duly acceded to with only a slight change in line with the policy of the American Federation of Labor regarding forced labor.

THE UNITED STATES

President Hoover's Oil Conservation Policy

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PRESIDENT HOOVER has done much during the month just past to demolish the popular conception of him as a man of mystery and a superman. As a result of his vigorous and decisive actions the new Chief Executive is in a fair way of getting rid of both of these troublesome titles.

Probably the most important policy, not forecast by his campaign speeches, was the President's announcement on March 12 of a new Federal oil conservation program. Henceforth, read the President's statement, "there will be no leases or disposal of government oil lands, no matter what category they may lie in; of government holdings or government control, except those which may be made mandatory by Congress. In other words, there will be complete conservation of government oil in this administration."

The leasing of government oil lands was authorized by an act of Congress in 1920 and was carried out (with some attendant abuses which have now become notorious) by the Department of the Interior. During the last nine years some 34,000 permits for drilling on government land were issued, of which about 20,000 are now outstanding. Mr.

Hoover's policy consists, first, in refusing to issue any new permits; second, in instructing Secretary of the Interior Wilbur to scan the 20,000 leases now outstanding and to revoke those not complying exactly with the provisions of the law, which requires that drilling must be started within a limited time. Thus those who have leased government oil land for speculation with no idea of immediate exploitation will be eliminated. "Where holders are complying with the law," concluded Mr. Hoover, "they need have no anxiety as to retrospective action."

What prompted President Hoover's decisive action was not the disclosures of oil scandals in recent administrations but the alarming condition of overproduction in the oil industry, the resulting glut in the market, price depression and waste of a valuable national resource. If production increases at the present rate it will not take many years, experts agree, to exhaust the national oil supply. Dependent on foreign markets for oil, this country would lose much of its strength as a world power, and this crisis is, the experts believe, imminent unless we use radical methods of conservation.

That this state of affairs has been

known and appreciated for at least five years is shown by President Coolidge's creation in 1924 of an Oil Conservation Board, of which Mr. Hoover as Secretary of Commerce was a member. At that time President Coolidge said: "It is evident that the present methods of capturing our oil deposits are wasteful to an alarming degree in that it becomes impossible to conserve oil in the ground under our present leasing and royalty practices if a neighboring owner or lessee desires to gain possession of his deposits."

However, it took five years before any definite action resulted from this statement, years marked by increased production of oil by private enterprise and the discovery of new sources which combined literally to flood the oil market and intensified the need for drastic curtailing of production. Thus Mr. Hoover's action met a fully recognized need and was enthusiastically received by private oil producers, who promised to cooperate in cutting down the supply.

They soon found, however, that this was not as easy as it had seemed. When the American Petroleum Institute proposed a nation-wide agreement among producers to keep this year's supply down to the level of 1928, Mr. Hoover objected that this plan would eventually involve price-fixing (that word of dire implications). Another snag was the fear that such a plan would bring the producers face to face with the Sherman anti-trust law. Furthermore, an opinion requested from Attorney General Mitchell by the Federal Conservation Board warned that "under existing laws such an agreement could not safely be made without the sanction of some officials of the United States authorized to give it, and, as I have already pointed out, no such authority exists."

Thus discouraged from concerted action, the oil companies considered the alternative of curtailing production of their own accord and individually. But the danger that their resources would be tapped by neighboring wells made it unlikely that they would adopt this method. On April 11 Secretary Wilbur, speaking for the Oil Conservation Board,

came forward with a plan suggesting an "interstate compact" among the three or four chief oil producing States, "to which the Federal government, through Congressional action, would be a party." Such a compact, said Mr. Wilbur, "could well comprise creating a joint board for the purposes of constructive conservation." These last two words are explained by the report as "the initial control of development through the control of drilling to the end that upon discovery of a new oil pool a plan for its development would be established which would prevent the waste of gas, the consequent loss of gas pressures and its serious effect upon the total yield of the pool, and to prevent other great losses which arise from flush flows due to periodic overproduction from feverish competition and offset drilling, with its consequence in unnecessary diversion of oil from gasoline to fuel on such occasions." Discussion of this proposal and further negotiations were in progress as this magazine went to press.

A final phase of the Teapot Dome oil investigation by the Senate came on April 8 with the verdict of the United States Supreme Court that Harry F. Sinclair must spend three months in jail. The highest court upheld Sinclair's conviction of contempt for refusing to answer questions put to him by Senator Walsh during the investigation. This is the only conviction obtained by the government in the charges growing out of the investigation of former Secretary of the Interior Fall's leasing of oil lands to Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny. Robert W. Stewart and Doheny were both acquitted; James E. O'Neill and Harry M. Blackmer fled to Europe and the charge against Albert B. Fall has never been prosecuted.

A second surprise came from the executive offices on March 14. Settling a point hotly disputed during the session of Congress last February, Mr. Hoover ordered that decisions in cases of tax refunds over \$20,000 be made public by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. It will be remembered that publicity for refunds over \$10,000 was provided for in an amendment to the first deficiency

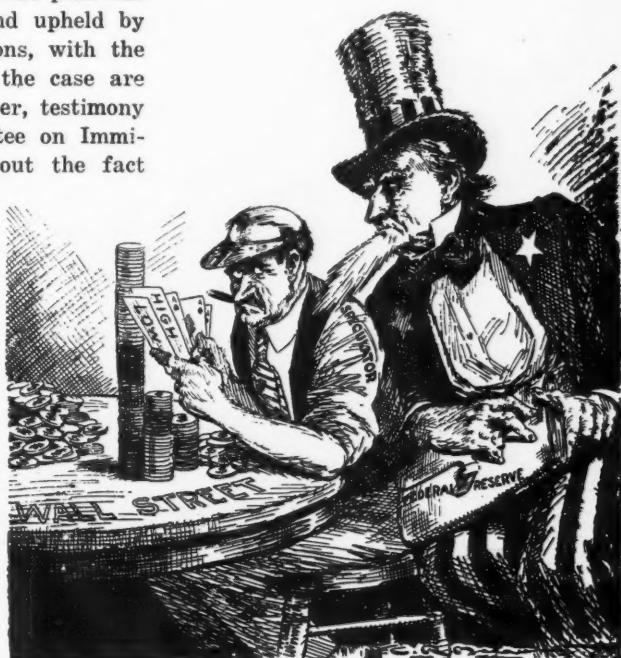
bill, sponsored by Senator MacKellar and Representative Garner and opposed by Secretary Mellon on the ground that such publicity would disclose trade secrets to competitors. Evidently Mr. Mellon felt that some recognition should be accorded the strong minority sentiment in Congress and that any mystery surrounding tax refunds should be dispelled, for it was at his suggestion that the executive order was issued. Hereafter the decisions will be open to the public and will contain "a brief summary of the relevant facts and a citation of the authorities applicable thereto."

A third important decision, based upon an opinion of Attorney General Mitchell, was practically forced on President Hoover. This was the proclamation, on March 22, putting into operation the national origins plan of determining immigration quotas. The order goes into effect on July 1. Mr. Hoover is strongly opposed to the plan, enacted by Congress, but, while confessing his dislike of the proclamation, he asserted that "the President of the United States must be the first to obey the law." The plan has been variously attacked and upheld by individuals and organizations, with the result that the merits of the case are somewhat confused. However, testimony before the Senate Committee on Immigration recently brought out the fact that the men who had to compute the quotas under the new system, the Secretaries of State, Commerce and Labor, had grave doubts as to the fairness and feasibility of the plan. Undoubtedly those opposed to it intend to seek action from the special session of Congress, which by legislation could prevent the plan going into effect on July 1. For a full discussion of the merits of the two quota plans, national origins and that now in effect, based on the 1890

census, the reader is referred to *CURRENT HISTORY* for November, 1928.

Two acts of the President heralded the approach of the long-needed reorganization of the executive departments of the government. One was Mr. Hoover's request for the written resignations of all officials of the departments above the civil service and below the Cabinet. This created a sensation, but it soon developed that few immediate changes were contemplated. Among the few new appointments were: Ernest Lee Jahncke of New Orleans as Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Patrick Hay Hurley of Tulsa, Okla., as Assistant Secretary of War; David S. Ingalls of Cleveland as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in Charge of Aviation, and Joseph H. Dixon of Montana as Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Reorganization and coordination of the independent bureaus and boards was the second task which Mr. Hoover tackled, and for this purpose he appointed Representative Walter H. Newton as his third secretary. Mr. Newton is to be a sort of liaison officer between



THE KIBITZER

—Brooklyn Eagle

the President and such organs as the Shipping Board, the Veterans' Bureau and the Smithsonian Institution.

In various other small and seemingly minor ways Mr. Hoover has revealed his personality and established a new order of things. On March 22 it became known that he would dispense with the Presidential yacht Mayflower, which cost the government \$300,000 annually. This historic ship, which was bought by the government in 1898 for use in the Spanish-American War and which was Admiral Dewey's flagship in 1902, will probably now be sold by the navy. Not only did Mr. Hoover immediately rearrange the executive offices, but he is responsible for the innovation of a telephone in the President's private office. He directed his secretary, Lawrence Richey, to buy a 1,500-acre tract of land fifty miles north of Washington, watered by trout streams. On clear mornings at 7 sharp he tosses a medicine ball on the White House lawn with Secretary Wilbur, Mark Sullivan, newspaper correspondent; Commander Joel Boone and other personal friends who are frequently invited in to breakfast.

AMBASSADOR HERRICK

A dominant personality in our international affairs was lost to this country with the death on March 31 of Ambassador Myron T. Herrick. Rarely in American history has an envoy so endeared himself to a foreign country or done so much to preserve friendly relations with that country. The depth of feeling in France for Ambassador Herrick may be attributed not only to the charm of the man but also to the numerous occasions on which he proved his loyalty in a crisis. Outstanding was his refusal to leave Paris in 1914 when its capture by the Germans was imminent and the French Government removed to Bordeaux. It was Ambassador Herrick who shepherded Colonel Lindbergh in Paris and was largely responsible for interpreting his flight as a gesture of Franco-American friendship. An immediate cause of Mr. Herrick's death was undoubtedly his two-mile walk in the funeral procession of Marshal Foch on



A COMPOSITE PICTURE OF OUR
LAWMAKERS

—Adams Service

March 26. He was 74 years old and had been intermittently ill for several months. His body was brought home on a French warship with full military honors such as were never before accorded a foreign Ambassador.

Alanson B. Houghton, United States Ambassador at the Court of St. James's since 1925, resigned his post in March. His place was filled by the appointment of Charles G. Dawes, former Vice President and at present financial adviser to the Dominican Republic. Mr. Dawes is well known abroad chiefly for his work on reparations as chairman of the committee which bears his name.

PROHIBITION

So far the new administration has made no headway with prohibition. In fact, the impression gained from the press would indicate that there is more scandal in high places, more shooting, more moral indignation on both sides and as much drinking as ever. In addition, prohibition has this month attained the distinction of having caused one international complication. The dispute is with Canada, and the occasion is the sinking of the Canadian rum-runner

I'm Alone by a United States revenue cutter off the Louisiana coast on March 22. It was the first time that the Coast Guard in its enforcement duties had gone the length of sinking a ship. The schooner was shelled and sunk several hundred miles out at sea, although the chase started within the twelve-mile limit over which the United States claims jurisdiction by the tariff act of 1922. One of the crew, a French subject, was drowned. The captain and others aboard were taken to New Orleans, where they were put in jail but subsequently released.

An investigation into the legality of the sinking was immediately started by the Departments of Justice and the Treasury, and a full report submitted to the State Department for use in dealing with protests of the Canadian Government. Neither the text of the report nor that of the Canadian protest was made public, but it was believed that Canada's ground for complaint was the fact that the chase was begun outside

the three-mile limit. It was generally conceded that the case was a delicate one which would raise complicated points of international law.

The sacrificing of human life to the cause of prohibition enforcement has become a source of horror and indignation, and a powerful weapon in the hands of the wets. Reports were given out by the Treasury Department on April 5 showing that twenty-five persons had been killed in the past fifteen months in the process of enforcement and 190 since the law went into force in 1920. Of these 135 were citizens killed by prohibition agents and 55 were officials killed in the line of duty. State dry raiders by means of a falsified affidavit entered the house of Joseph de King in Aurora, Ill., on the night of March 25, and, finding him armed, slugged him over the head and shot his wife dead. One gallon of wine was found. Deputy Sheriff Roy Smith, who did the shooting, was indicted for manslaughter. The case is interesting in the light of the popular sentiment it aroused and the front page stories it was accorded by the press.

Just a week before this tragedy occurred Mr. Hoover had taken occasion to emphasize that his administration would not attempt to enforce prohibition by spectacular raids, "drives" or drastic penalties but by a gradual instilling of respect for the law in the public mind. In other words, Mr. Hoover hopes to win public opinion to his cause by education. This message opportunely followed the determination of a group of prominent lawyers to protect the violators of the Jones law, under which a maximum penalty of five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine may be imposed for violation of any or all of the three points of the Eighteenth Amendment, manufacture, sale or transportation of liquor.

On March 4 Mr. Hoover, in his inaugural address cited the failure of certain States to cooperate by passing State enforcement laws. On April 2 Wisconsin took the first step toward joining the ranks of the remiss when the wets carried by a large majority a referendum advocating the repeal of the State enforcement act. Now that the will of the



"JUST LOOK AT THIS DESPERATE CRIMINAL!!"

—The Sun, Baltimore

Wisconsin electorate is known, the final battle remains to be fought out in the State legislature. In Michigan the so-called "life-for-a-pint" law passed two years ago was repealed on March 28. In Illinois and Missouri bills were introduced for the repeal of the State enforcement acts and in the New York Legislature a new enforcement law was killed.

The mention above of scandal in high places refers in the chronicle of this month to the accusation that two members of the House of Representatives, both avowed drys, illegally transported liquor into the country. Congressman M. Alfred Michaelson of Illinois, returning from a trip to Panama in January, 1928, asked and received the courtesy of the port of Key West, Fla. His baggage was not inspected, but his trunk, en route to Washington, developed a leak which led to the discovery of several bottles of liquor therein. Michaelson was indicted last October and arrested on April 1, 1929, in Chicago.

Representative William M. Morgan, Ohio Republican, also returning from Panama late in March, was charged by customs officials with possessing several bottles of liquor in his baggage. Mr. Morgan branded the charges as absolutely false and said, "I never took a drink in my life." An investigation was begun on April 1 by United States Attorney Charles Tuttle. In reviewing the whole practice of "free entry" the press brought out the fact that it is a common practice among members of the government to visit Panama and the West Indies, presumably in an official capacity, in order to "observe conditions," and on their return therefore to claim the courtesy of the port.

THE SPECIAL SESSION

The members of the Seventy-first Congress met for the first time in a special session on April 15. In the interval between sessions, the agriculture committees had been meeting in an endeavor to prepare a new farm relief bill in harmony with the views expressed by Mr. Hoover during his campaign. The new President declined to give any additional advice to the committees and referred

them to his speeches. This is consistent with his explicit policy not to frame bills, but to leave that legislative function entirely to Congress.

The chief difficulty appeared to be to find a workable substitute for the equalization fee, still the fetish of farm leaders and the abomination of the administration. Secretary of Agriculture Hyde, appearing by request before the committees, stressed the creation of a Federal Farm Board as the mainstay of the administration's farm relief program. He expressed confidence that the board would find a way to deal with the exportable surplus—the problem for which the equalization fee had been offered as a solution in the old McNary-Haugen bill, vetoed by President Coolidge. A new Federal Farm Board bill was drawn up, minus the fee, which was introduced in the House at the opening of the session. Its main provision was for a Federal Farm Board, consisting of a chairman and five members, which would have the use of a \$500,000,000 revolving fund "to promote the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and to place agriculture on a basis of economic equality with other industries." Enormous discretionary powers are conferred on the board for the administration of this fund. It is empowered to promote cooperative marketing associations, stabilization corporations and clearing houses, owned and controlled by the producers, by loans from the revolving fund. The board is also authorized to insure any cooperative association against loss through price decline. The equalization fee principle is entirely abandoned. It was reported that the Senate opposed the bill, but had not yet drawn up an alternative plan.

Tariff revision, the other task of the new Congress, was also promised as an aid to the farmers. It was generally conceded that this revision would be upward and "limited," in spite of the many demands for radical changes.

As successor to Vice President Curtis, now presiding officer in the Senate, Henry J. Allen, former Governor of Kansas, was appointed Senator.

Mexican Rebels Suffer Defeats

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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THE Mexican rebellion which broke with dramatic suddenness early in March has since indubitably identified itself as purely a politico-military movement that is without popular support or the support of the disaffected Catholic elements for which it has made repeated bids. After the initial successes of the rebels in Vera Cruz and in no fewer than seven States of the north and northwest, the government assumed the offensive and has since everywhere successfully maintained it. The complete collapse of the rebel movement in Vera Cruz by March 11 enabled the government to employ its full force in the northwest, where the rebels were faced along an irregular line that extended westward from Saltillo, by way of Torreón and Durango, to the Gulf of California north of Mazatlán. Since March 11 the outcome on the whole for the rebels has been one long series of disappointments and military defeats at the hands of the vastly larger and better equipped Federal forces.

When the rebels failed to win in the first week after proclaiming revolution, time worked to their great disadvantage and to the corresponding advantage of the government. Each day witnessed the steady diminution of the rebels' war supplies, with no opportunity of their being replenished except in small quantities through hazardous smuggling operations across the well-patrolled United States border. The government, on the other hand, daily became stronger as war materials of all kinds—including even commercial airplanes that were easily convertible into bombers—began to reach it from the United States in steadily increasing quantities. Under such

conditions it is not surprising that the government forces advanced into the northwest with slow but nevertheless clocklike precision, so that by April 7 the rebels remained in control of only parts of the three States of Sinaloa, Sonora, and Chihuahua, while the Federals continued their offensive.

The chief Federal offensive operations between March 11 and April 7 were in the Torreón-Jiménez sector in Western Coahuila and Southeastern Chihuahua. On the former date the Federal centre, composed of 18,000 troops under the personal command of General Plutarco Elías Calles, Minister of War and Federal generalissimo, was at Zacatecas City. At the same time the Federal right wing, commanded by General Almazán, was centred at Monterey and the Federal left wing was at Mazatlán under the command of General Jaime Carillo. The rebels were definitely forced into defensive operations on March 12 when General Escobar, rebel commander-in-chief, evacuated Saltillo. The following day the concentration of rebel forces was begun in Torreón, an important railroad centre approximately 180 miles west of Saltillo and 275 miles north of Zacatecas. By March 14 government forces, estimated by President Portes Gil to number 30,000, were moving against Torreón in five columns.

Fighting to the east of Torreón started on March 17 when Escobar's rebel forces attacked the column of General Ortíz, apparently to cover his evacuation of Torreón, which was effected on the following morning. As Escobar's forces abandoned Torreón, it was occupied by Calles's army. Escobar's forces retreated to the north, destroying railway

bridges and tracks as they went, and by March 19 rebel headquarters had been established, first at Escalón and later at Jiménez, about 150 miles north of Torreón. There the rebel positions were repeatedly bombed by Federal airplanes while the Federal war machine slowly advanced from Torreón, repairing as it proceeded the damaged railway. By March 27 the Federal war machine under General Calles in its northward advance had crossed the Chihuahua State line, about midway between Torreón and Jiménez. The following day a clash occurred between the Federal vanguard and a rebel rear guard at Jarai Grande in the course of which the rebels retreated. A second clash between Federals and rebels occurred on March 30 at Corralitos, a small town twenty miles south of Jiménez.

The long-awaited major engagement between the main divisions of Calles's army and those of Escobar's forces began when the Federals attacked 6,000 rebels under Generals Escobar and Caraveo in their positions in and around Jiménez on April 1. Fighting continued until late the following day, when the rebels retreated northward. At Reforma, twelve miles north of Jiménez, a force of 2,100 rebels, the last to abandon Jiménez on April 2, was cut off from the main army and suffered a crushing defeat at Almazán's hands in the most important and most sanguinary battle so far fought. Almazán estimated that the rebel casualties, including killed, wounded and dispersed, would total 2,000. The rebel leaders escaped the disaster that befell their troops and led the flight northward toward Chihuahua City. The rebels who were defeated at Reforma retreated toward Santa Rosalia—thirty-four miles to the north, half way between Reforma and Bachimba Pass—with Federal cavalry and airplanes in close pursuit. Escobar, after a conference with his military advisers in Chihuahua City on April 5, reannounced that they would "conveniently reorganize and re-equip their forces."

On April 7 Escobar and five troop trains arrived at Juarez from the south, and the same day, with six heavily loaded troop trains, he left Juarez for Western

Chihuahua, thus indicating that the plan of the rebel generalissimo called for the complete evacuation of the State of Chihuahua before the advancing Federals and the concentration of his forces in the State of Sonora, the whole of which, except Naco, was firmly held by the rebels. On April 7 the important cities of Parral and Rosario in Southern Chihuahua were occupied by Almazán's Federal troops. The same day the rebel garrison of ninety men at Ojinaga, Chihuahua, opposite Presidio, Texas, deserted the rebel cause, killed the two ranking rebel officers, and declared their loyalty to the government.

Meanwhile heavy fighting had also taken place on the Federals' left wing. On March 20 rebel forces under Generals Cruz and Iturbe appeared before Mazatlán, Sinaloa, and demanded its surrender of General Carrillo, commander of the Federal garrison of 2,000 men at that place. The demand was refused and the rebels furiously attacked the Federals in their well-fortified position in Mazatlán on March 22. After seventy-two hours of intermittent fighting, including one assault of thirty-two hours' duration, during which the Federals were aided by a Mexican gunboat in the harbor, the rebels withdrew to their positions in the hills overlooking Mazatlán. With Federal reinforcements of between 5,000 and 6,000 men under General Cardenas, who had been rushed to Mazatlán, only forty miles to the south, the rebels under Cruz and Iturbe abandoned the siege of Mazatlán on March 25, after having suffered heavy losses, and began a retreat toward Culiacan. Cardenas pushed north in pursuit of the fleeing rebels and on April 6 occupied Culiacan without resistance and amid rejoicing by the inhabitants. The forces of Cruz and Iturbe continued to retreat in the vicinity of the Sonora State line, thereby abandoning practically the entire State of Sinaloa to the Federals.

After April 9, in spite of conflicting press reports, it seemed obvious that the rebels lost ground. Juarez was practically vacated that day, and Federal troops were advancing. On April 12 it was reported that General Manzo left rebel forces to cross into the United

States. Other Generals were being relieved of their commands because of their willingness to negotiate for peace. On April 13, although General Escobar denied it, it was reported that the rebels in Sonora had offered to surrender. General Rabatte, in charge of the Sonora rebels, asked for the lives of himself and his officers. Portes Gil replied that the offer of surrender would be considered only if it were unconditional.

Hostilities of a comparatively minor character but which greatly magnified the possibilities of international difficulties with the United

States took place in the vicinity of Naco, Sonora, opposite Naco, Ariz. One of the chief blows to the rebel movement was the defection on March 12 of General Agustino Olachea with 1,200 Maya and Yaqui Indian troops at Naco, Sonora, located in the very heart of rebel territory. Olachea explained that he had theretofore only tricked the rebel leaders by pretending to have joined the revolt until the opportunity came for him to strike a blow for the government.

Determined to punish Olachea for his disloyalty to them, the rebels concentrated for an attack on Naco, thereby preventing him from assuming the offensive. Rebel forces under General Fausto Topete appeared in sight of Naco, Sonora, on March 30, and two days later the town was twice bombed by rebel airplanes. The following day (April 2) the rebel aerial bombing was resumed, in the course of which a bomb fell on United States soil and wounded an American citizen. Thereupon the Federals brought three United States Army fifty-pound aircraft bombs and dropped them over the rebel positions from airplanes sent to Naco by Governor Rodríguez.

The long-awaited battle of Naco began on April 3. The following day two Fed-



HEADED NOWHERE

—The Boston Herald

eral aces were shot down with their plane over rebel lines and both were killed, and on April 5, during an aerial bombing by the rebels, bombs fell in Naco, Ariz., and wounded four Americans.

After the first rebel bomb had dropped in Naco, Ariz., an American army officer protested this act to Topete, who expressed regret and promised to see that it did not recur. When for a second time bombs fell on the United States, Topete was again presented with a protest and again expressed regrets. On April 6, however, after the wounding of four Americans in Naco, Ariz., by rebel bombs, the United States Government ordered six observation planes and twelve bombing planes, fully equipped for combat, to Naco, Ariz., with instructions to prevent further dropping of rebel bombs on United States soil. After the arrival at Naco, Ariz., on April 7, of the eighteen United States planes, orders were given United States war planes concentrated there to attack any plane, either rebel or Federal, flying over United States territory. At the same time United States Army officers advised General Lucas González, Federal commander at Naco, Sonora, to keep his planes on the ground lest they be caught

accidentally on the American side of the border and shot down.

The major rebel assault on the Federals in Naco, Sonora, began early on April 6, but the rebels under Topete failed, after a bloody battle, to defeat the defending forces of González and Olachea, and were forced back with considerable loss.

The policy of the United States Government with respect to the rebellion has been the more positively to embarrass and impede the rebels while granting correspondingly greater moral and material support to the recognized constitutional government than was the case in 1923-24 when the recognized Obregón Government was threatened with overthrow by the de la Huerta rebellion. It was announced on March 5 that President Hoover would continue the Coolidge policy of supporting the constitutional régime in Mexico. Two days later, in anticipation of a rebel attack on Juarez, opposite El Paso, Texas, United States Army officials, as a precautionary measure, stationed two French 75s, mounted on armored cars, near the international bridge.

After two children on the American side had been wounded—one fatally—by rebel bullets, General Mosely, U. S. A., crossed to the Mexican side to warn the rebels against such hazards in the future. An armistice was effected by United States Army officers, and several hundred Federal troops, greatly outnumbered by the rebel attackers, crossed to United States soil and were interned at Fort Bliss. They were released on April 3, when they proceeded to reinforce the Federal garrison at Naco, Sonora, which was then being besieged by rebels under Topete. Ammunition was left behind at Fort Bliss, thereby enabling the soldiers to cross United States soil and re-enter Mexico under the status of Mexicans illegally in the United States, liable to deportation, and thus not coming under the classification of troops.

That the belligerents would not be recognized as such by the United States Government was announced by Secretary of State Kellogg on March 11. Such action deprived the rebels of the possibility

of a quasi-political recognition, with the right to declare blockades and obtain financial and other material support in the United States. On March 15 arms, munitions and kindred war material requested by the Mexican Federal Government were ordered out of the surplus stock of the United States Department of War. Secretary of State Kellogg on March 18 announced that representatives of the rebels then en route to Washington would not be received officially; he also justified as well established the policy of permitting airplanes and other supplies to enter Mexico for the Federal army, and announced that this policy would not be changed despite the fact that some Americans had been injured and a Frenchman wounded in fighting around Torreón the day before. The following day the Hoover Administration made known that in case rebels took refuge in the United States they would not, in conformity with the Pan-American treaty on the rights and duties of States in event of civil strife, be denied the right of sanctuary. On March 19 Secretary Kellogg announced that neither the Department of State nor any of its authorized agents had undertaken and that they would not undertake to mediate between the contending forces.

The United States Government, through the Treasury Department, announced on March 21 that American customs officials would seek to prevent gold from being taken out of Mexico. This measure was explained as designed to prevent stolen gold from coming into this country. Twice during the course of the present rebellion the Department of State warned Americans who might assist the rebels that they need expect no assistance from the United States Government should they get into difficulties. The first warning was sounded by Secretary of State Kellogg. This was repeated on April 3 by Secretary of State Stimson, as follows: "If any American enlists with the rebels, he places himself in the category of people recognized by the Mexican Government as traitors and the United States could not protect him from the consequences of his acts."



ANOTHER POPULAR (?) UPRISING
IN MEXICO
—New York Herald Tribune

From the outset the rebels failed to obtain the support of disaffected Catholic elements. After the capture of Juárez on March 8, the rebel leaders ordered services to be resumed in the Catholic churches there. The priest nominally assigned to that charge, who is in exile across the river in El Paso, refused, however, to resume his duties in Juárez without orders from his bishop. In a decree signed on March 12 by Escobar the regulatory law of Constitutional Article 130, which is the fundamental law with reference to religious worship in Mexico, was declared abolished in territory under the control of the rebels. The following day a circular entitled "Religious Liberty," which was distributed in Torreón, denounced the Calles policy respecting the regulation of religious conduct. These appeals, however, could not fail to carry slight weight with discerning Mexican Catholics in view of the well-known part taken two years ago by Escobar and his rebel colleague Cruz, then Chief of Police in Mexico City, in enforcing the Calles decrees regulating religious worship. At that time Escobar and Cruz were credited with having directed the arrest of

thousands of Catholics, including priests, and even of having carried out many executions of Catholics. In Mexico City on March 11 satisfaction was expressed by government officials that "Catholic leaders" had not identified themselves with the revolt.

The rebels failed also to win the support of Mexican organized labor. In a statement issued on March 13 Luis N. Morones, well-known labor leader, said that "the attitude of the principal leaders of the Mexican Federation of Labor and myself is one of frank cooperation for the government of the republic."

Federal forces that were used in quelling the outbreak in Vera Cruz were reported on March 13 to have been transferred to the State of Guanajuato to combat alleged Catholic rebels there. This was so far the only indication that Catholics as such had been active anywhere in the rebellion. After the Federal victories at Jiménez and Reforma early in April, Calles was reported to have sent 5,000 additional troops to suppress the "Cristeros," or rebellious Catholics, in the States of Jalisco and Guanajuato who have been engaging in unorganized rebellious activity against the government for the past two years.

In compliance with instructions issued early in February, 1,721 Catholic priests throughout Mexico had registered their addresses with the government by March 21. The Bishops of Papantla, Oaxaca, Chihuahua and San Luis Potosí and the Auxiliary Bishop of Mexico were among those who registered.

According to authoritative estimates, the Mexican army early in March numbered about 60,000, including about one General to every 355 enlisted men. From 12,000 to 15,000 of the total army joined the Escobar-Aguirre rebellion, and as late as March 25 it was estimated by the government that the rebels still had approximately that number of men. The government at the same time was estimated to have approximately 35,000 men engaged in various campaigns, in addition to several thousand engaged in garrison duty or railroad work in relatively quiet sectors. Many agrarian volunteers were cooperating with the government

forces. An official government decree on April 3 deprived forty-four Generals of their rank and expelled them from the Mexican Army because of activity in the rebellion. In addition, several rebel leaders who had been captured were court-martialed and executed. Included among them were Colonel Palomero López (March 7), General Simón Aguirre (March 12), five officers of the staff of General Jesús M. Aguirre (March 14), and General Jesús M. Aguirre himself, leader of the abortive rebellion in Vera Cruz (March 20).

NICARAGUA—Manuel María Jirón, one-time Sandino insurgent leader, was captured and executed on March 9 by General Juan Escamillo, leader of a group of native volunteers operating against outlaws in the Department of Nueva Segovia. Jirón was the leader of the band which raided the American-owned La Paz mine last year and captured and held captive until his death an American named George Marshall.

Marine casualties in Nicaragua continued during March. In an encounter between a marine patrol and bandits near Pavona in the Department of Jinotega on March 17 one marine private was killed and another was wounded, but not seriously. In another clash between marines and rebels on March 26 one marine was severely wounded and subsequently died.

Brigadier General Logan Feland, former commander of the marine forces in Nicaragua, after sixteen months' continuous duty in Nicaragua, left for the United States on March 27. Colonel Robert H. Dunlop remained at Managua in temporary command of marines in Nicaragua.

Advices to President Moncada, reported on March 17, indicate a surplus of 200,000 *cordobas* (\$200,000 gold) over the budget needs in the first two months of the year and the possibility of the saving

of 1,000,000 *cordobas* by the government in the first half-year period.

Before the termination on March 19 of the 1929 session of the Nicaraguan Congress Dr. Roman, a Liberal Senator from Diriamba, was chosen by Congress to act as President in case of the death or incapacity of the President.

GUATEMALA—Diplomatic relations between Guatemala and Nicaragua, which were severed during the Sacasa revolution of 1926-27 in Nicaragua, were resumed on March 11 when the new Nicaraguan Minister, Robert Sanson, was received by the Guatemalan Government.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—President Vásquez on March 1 invited Charles G. Dawes, at the conclusion of his term as Vice President of the United States, "to organize and accept the chairmanship of an advisory mission" to go to his country "to recommend methods of improvements in our system of economic and financial administrative organization, both national and municipal; for the installation of a scientific budget system, and for an efficient method whereby the government may control all of its expenditures." The personnel of the Dawes mission to the Dominican Republic as announced on March 2 is as follows:

CHARLES G. DAWES.

GENERAL JAMES G. HARBORD, president of the Radio Corporation of America.

SUMNER WELLES, former Commissioner to the Dominican Republic.

H. C. SMITHER, former chief coordinator of the budget system.

J. CLAWSON ROOP, former assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget.

T. W. ROBINSON, vice president of the Illinois Steel Company.

HENRY P. SEIDEMANN of the Institute of Government Research.

E. ROSS BARTLEY, secretary of the mission.

The mission reached Santo Domingo on April 2.

The Dominican Congress on March 11 ratified the arbitration treaty negotiated between the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

Irrigation Projects in Peru

By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN

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THE First Congress of Irrigation and Colonization which was held in the city of Lambayeque, Peru, in February of this year, was an event of unusual significance in the economic life of the Peruvian people, for agriculture has always been the most important industry in that country: it was, in fact, the chief industry of Peru for upward of three thousand years. The people of the Pre-Pizzaran Period, of the Incaic Period, and of the periods before that had evolved a system of cultivating the soil which is still the marvel of mankind. These new undertakings of President Luguía and his advisers will be seen to be an attempt to revive and to carry forward, through modern implements and methods, the system begun by the people thousands of years before the arrival of the Spaniards. And this is as it should be, for fully 8 per cent of the present population is still engaged in the cultivation of the soil.

The most important aspect of agriculture in Peru is the fact that the amount of available tillable land is very small. The surface of the country is such as to leave only about 2 per cent of it really fit for cultivation. The surface is made up of great areas and masses of deserts, hills barren of all important or useful vegetation and large areas of forests. The problem before President Leguía is, therefore, one of reclamation of arid lands. It is this phase of the problem that was primarily dealt with at the Congress of Lambayeque. Of the land now under cultivation, estimated to be between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 acres, fully 80 per cent is irrigated. The construction of Peruvian irrigation works, canals and accessories is the one impor-

tant problem before the country. Closely allied to this is the problem of colonization. The plantation system is still the one in force in Peru; it is in effect on the Pacific Coast and back in the mountains. The former region has its great fields of sugar and cotton, its factories, its railroads and docks. But it is back in the mountains that the plantation system as introduced by the Spaniards is still to be found. This system was that known as the *encomienda* system, a form of feudalism, a régime of division of the land in which both the territorial and personal factors were found. There are also small farms.

Since 1919 there has been an increase in irrigated areas, developed especially for the purpose of giving small farms to those who desired them for a fairly reasonable sum. The first irrigation project was that in the valley of Cañete, a distance of some 420 miles south of Lima. By 1924 fully 10,000 acres were opened to settlements in lots varying in size from two and a half to one hundred acres. Today the value of the crops produced on these farms is about twice as much as the cost of the construction of the irrigation project, which has established the fact that the reclamation of the arid lands can be conducted successfully.

A project now under way is the Olmos project in Northern Peru which includes 125,000 acres to be reduced to cultivation. In addition to this acreage there is also an area of uncertain irrigation rights of some 67,000 acres, and one without any irrigation whatever of about 175,000 acres, making a grand total of 376,000 acres for that region. The Peruvian Government also has under im-

provement the old irrigation system of the Piura Valley, where it will add some 20,000 acres, and rebuild the canal in the Chira Valley, which was abandoned in 1925 by the Peruvian Corporation. This canal will probably be completed in 1930.

The development of these irrigation projects carries with it the building of roads and the gradual sanitation and organization of other civic centres. A careful census will be taken of the Department of Lambayeque in order to determine the amount of land desired of the different sizes and holdings. This census shows already that there are more than sufficient small farmers, tenants and landless people to take all the land that can be offered, them.

These projects have their opponents. The owners of plantations do not look with favor on any project that would adversely affect their supply of labor, or tend to increase the standard of living of the working people. The government, however, is convinced that irrigation is vitally necessary to proper development of agriculture, and, since such projects as are deemed necessary are much too large for private undertakings, it feels that the State alone should undertake their construction.

ARGENTINA—The report recently made by the two German explorers, Herr Plichta and Herr Kaap, of their activities in the region of the upper Paraguay River, has aroused much interest in Argentina as well as in other parts of South America. The interest centres about the potential waterpower and waterways of that region. It has been known for over a century that the canalization of waterways might make of the whole of the region east of the Andes down to and including the Rio de la Plata system one network of water routes. What these two explorers have done has been to add more definite concrete data concerning many matters that were obscure or wholly unknown. Their report has served to arouse in the peoples of these regions a knowledge of the fact that when once the mighty rivers of this vast region are connected—the problems involved are by no

means as formidable as is popularly supposed—South America will have the greatest river chain in the world. The German explorers have found that these thousands of miles of water flowing from the Argentine plains through Paraguay, Western Brazil and the lower tributaries of the Amazon to the Amazon River are joined in the forests of the Brazilian State of Matto Grosso.

BOLIVIA—The Commission of Investigation and Conciliation in the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco Boreal incident met in Washington on March 13 and formally organized. The representative of the United States, Brig. Gen. Frank R. McCoy, was elected president of the commission.

ECUADOR—The Constituent National Assembly of Ecuador has completed the discussion of the new Constitution, which has been placed in the hands of a commission for final revision before it is promulgated. The Assembly elected Dr. Isidro Ayora Constitutional President of Ecuador on March 27. This election was made possible by an act of the Assembly providing for such an event. There were three candidates: Provisional President Ayora (he has served in that capacity since 1926), Señor Rafael Maria Arizaga, the Conservative, and Señor Neptali Bonifaz, president of the Central Bank. Dr. Ayora received 42, Sr. Arizaga 2, and Sr. Bonifaz 6 votes, respectively. The inauguration took place on April 12, and the term of office will be five years from that date and there will be no right of re-election.

PARAGUAY—The statement made by Senhor Mangabeira, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, that the action of the Brazilian authorities on the Island of Margarita was of little importance, has caused a sensation in Paraguay. It will be recalled that Brazilian troops took formal possession of the island, hoisted the Brazilian flag, sang the Brazilian national hymn and declared to the people present that Brazil had taken possession of the island. This

action is considered in Asunción as contrary to the Ibarra-Mangabeira Treaty, which provided that the boundary line between Brazil and Paraguay should be the Paraguay River, the district to the left of the mouth going to Brazil and that to the right going to Paraguay. Brazil replies that the Treaty of Ibarra-Mangabeira has not yet been ratified, since the Chamber of Paraguay has not so far acted upon it, and that the document in question cannot thus be cited as of force in the present incident.

PERU—The Tacna-Arica question is still a fruitful one for discussion in Peru. It is generally believed that the negotiations have reached an impasse, and that each nation concerned is looking about for some plan whereby the deadlock may be broken. The statement that engineers had reported a site for the new port about one hundred meters north of Arica has aroused strong opposition in Chile. The Chileans claim that such proximity between the Old and the New Arica would be a very serious element in the relations between the two countries, and they fear constant friction between the two peoples because of this proximity. More important than this fact, however, is the growing feeling in Chile that the United States is determined to protect Peru in her contest with Chile. The Chileans point to the fact that the United States is manifesting, as she has done on many other occasions when the relations between Chile and Peru have been strained, too much interest in the whole situation.

VENEZUELA—President Gómez, through Señor Pedro M. Arcaya, Minister of the Interior of Venezuela, authorized a statement on March 18 concerning conditions in that republic. The

President declared that the political, financial and economic conditions of the country were splendid, that there was complete calm, and that "peace is firm, solid and immovable"; that the general welfare of the people was normal and that the universities of Caracas and Mérida were functioning with "a considerable number of students." He did admit that a few students were detained in Puerto Cabello prison, but that they were held there for "justifiable reasons," whatever that may mean. He announced that the National Congress would convene on April 19, and that he would hand over to the Supreme Court the powers as President; that the Congress would be engaged "during the next fifteen days on the election for the 1929-1936 period"; and that The Associated Press and American newspapers might send their correspondents to Venezuela, where they would be welcomed. He declared further that the Venezuelan Government would guarantee these correspondents "absolute liberty of action and freedom of the press for their communications, and also all the facilities for travel in order to enable them to gather information as they may require." He concluded by saying: "There is no one rebellious. There is not a lone bandit perturbing the quiet of the country, even in the most removed regions. The interests of Venezuelans and foreigners are well taken care of and they will be in the future. It will be ridiculous for any one to attempt to alter the present order. His failure would be immediate. There is no one who would venture to defy the force of public opinion, which is determined to maintain the constitutional normality of the country. Furthermore, the Venezuelan Army is composed of well disciplined and well organized units and armed with modern equipment."

The Revolt in India Against British Rule

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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COMMUNISTIC and nationalistic agitation and violence in India reached a climax on April 8 when, in the presence of Sir John Simon, chairman of the Statutory Commission of Inquiry, two bombs were hurled into the government benches of the Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi. Sir George Schuster, the finance member of the Viceroy's executive council, and four Indian members of the Assembly were injured. As the session ended in a rush for the doors, Communist leaflets fluttered from the balcony whence the bomb had been thrown. Two young Indians, one from the Punjab, the other from Bengal, were arrested and admitted having committed the outrage.

Time alone will reveal whether this incident was a significant step in the progress of events in India or merely the isolated act of irresponsible fanatics. The attack upon the Assembly, however, unquestionably bears a temporal relation to a long crescendo of violence in political speech and action in India. It came, too, during a session in which the importance of the Assembly in Indian affairs has seemed to be less than at any time since the inauguration of that body.

Many recent events have entered into the making of the present critical situation in India. Among them may be mentioned the Simon Commission of investigation and its reception in India. Wherever the commission has gone the Indian radicals have sought to have it boycotted by the people and to prevent the Indian members of the central and provincial governments from cooperating with it. In the latter project the agitators failed, as every government

except that of the Central Provinces appointed a commission to act with the British body in its investigations.

The popular boycott met with varying success. In no province did it prevent the commission from accomplishing its chief purposes, although it did succeed in isolating the investigators from contact with many politically minded Indians who otherwise would have been consulted to the mutual advantage of both sides. In every region, however, the boycotters succeeded in awakening a widespread distrust of the commission and its objects, and in inflaming native feeling against Great Britain.

Coincidentally with the agitation over the Simon commission, a vigorous campaign against the use or sale of British cloth in India was conducted by Mahatma Ghandi. Riots resulted, and arrests followed the burning of cloth looted from native and British shops. Ghandi himself was fined, but continued with his attacks upon the product of British looms, advocating action which could only result in violence.

Meanwhile, another movement, this one engineered by plotters as realistic as the Mahatma is idealistic, began to make itself felt throughout India. Strikes in cotton and steel mills became constantly more frequent and more violent. The British asserted that they were fomented by Bolshevik emissaries and financed by Russian gold. A year ago the government tried to have passed into law a public safety bill to enable it to banish promptly alien Communists who sought to disrupt business and undermine the State. The Assembly, under the leadership of radical Indians, declined to pass the required measure. As condi-

tions grew worse, the bill, with some modifications, was reintroduced in the present session. It was being heatedly debated in the Assembly when the bombs were thrown on April 8.

Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, took drastic action on April 12, when, addressing the Assembly in person, he announced that he had passed the public safety bill by ordinance instead of by legislative enactment.

Some two weeks before the bomb outrage, however, the government had struck at allegedly Communistic agitators under the ordinary law of sedition. On March 20 the police of a dozen of the most important cities of India arrested about one hundred men, who were accused of "conspiracy and waging war against the King." This action further increased the ferment throughout those classes of people who are receptive to revolutionary propaganda. The course of the government was bitterly attacked by the Indian radical leaders in the Assembly. Speeches were made which virtually justified the use of violence in case Great Britain should not accede to the demands of the Nehru report, which was adopted by the All-India Congress last December, and grant India autonomy within a year. When the Assembly sought to force a prolonged discussion upon the subject of the Communist arrests, the Viceroy "disallowed" the debate—that is, forbade it—upon the ground that it would be detrimental to the public safety. At the same time, great bitterness developed over the debate upon the budget, in which Sir George Schuster, the finance member, was the chief Government spokesman.

As a complement to the political strife between Indian nationalists and the British, the ever-present friction between the Hindu and the Moslem elements of

the Indian population has steadily become more pronounced and outspoken. Among the masses, this traditional hatred and distrust has been expressed in a long series of peculiarly savage riots, which have occurred from one end of India to the other. The leaders have refrained from physical violence against each other, but the outspoken refusal of the Moslems to accept the Nehru report and subsequent dissensions between the two groups have emphasized the political and social chasm which separates these two elements among the people of India.

The events and movements which have been mentioned form a part of the background of the present situation in India. They cannot fail to enter into the deliberations of the Simon Commission, which embarked upon its return journey to England on April 11. Perhaps the most discouraging element in the situation is the apparent failure of the Legislative Assembly and, in lesser degree, the provincial assemblies, to establish themselves as the legislatures through which Indians and Britons may work out the destiny of India through orderly political processes.

On the same day that the news of the bomb throwing reached London there was published there an allegedly Communist manifesto calling for "the liberation of India from the yoke of imperialism" and describing Great Britain as the "plunderer and hangman of India." Asserting that the Delhi crime was inspired by Moscow, The London *Times* declared that "to the distant organizers of revolution the affair at Delhi is a mere incident in the Asiatic campaign that has been waged with varying success for ten years against the West in general and this country in particular from the Levant to Canton."

OTHER EVENTS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GREAT BRITAIN—Once again David Lloyd George has made good his title as the greatest political showman of his generation. With a program of public works to be paid for with bor-

rowed money, and expressed in the slogan, "We can conquer unemployment," early in March, he placed the divided and discredited Liberal party in the centre of the British electoral stage.

As the campaign progressed, the Liberal cause, which has behind it not only Lloyd George's dynamic personality but his \$5,000,000 campaign fund, steadily gained in strength. By the middle of April both the Labor and the Conservative parties had been placed on the defensive, and there was a general feeling that, although the Liberals would not win a majority at the polls, they might very well elect a hundred members and hold the balance of power in the next Parliament.

Lloyd George well knows the political popularity of a dramatic and unequivocal promise to give the people what they want most. In 1919 this happened to be to make Germany pay the whole expense of the war and to "hang the Kaiser." In 1929 it is a termination of widespread unemployment. Accordingly, on March 1 the former Prime Minister declared: "I am prepared to make this statement: If the nation entrusts the Liberal party at the next general election with the responsibilities of government, we are ready with schemes of work which we can put immediately in operation—work of a kind which is not merely useful in itself but essential to the well-being of the nation. The work put in hand will reduce the terrible figures of the workless in the course of a single year to normal proportions, and will, when completed, enrich the nation and equip it for successfully competing with its rivals in the business of the world. These plans will not add one penny to the national or local taxation."

In a book subsequently published Lloyd George revealed the details of a plan to find work for from 350,000 to 375,000 men on highway and other public work projects, and to finance the undertaking by a national loan. This scheme would be supplemented by measures to increase the productivity of the land and otherwise stimulate British production. The other standard planks of the Liberal platforms of recent years were also advocated, and the Conservative government was criticized for its failure to cope with domestic problems and for its foreign policy, especially with reference

to Russia, France and the United States.

The effect of the aggressive Liberal campaign and the equally vigorous efforts of the Labor party were seen in a series of five by-elections which occurred during the week of March 20. Five seats, all of which had been held by Conservatives, were contested. In this "miniature general election" the government lost two seats to the Liberals and one to Labor, and held two with seriously reduced majorities in the other two. The victory of Miss Jenny Lee, the young daughter of a miner, over the Conservative, Lord Scone, was declared by Labor leaders to be especially significant. Miss Lee, the tenth woman to be elected to the Commons, converted a Conservative majority at the last general election into a Labor majority of 6,578.

IRISH FREE STATE—During the past month the rulers of the Irish Free State have been governing that turbulent country under the same shadow of assassination that in other days hung over their British predecessors in power. Early in March political terrorism had reached the point at which the members of juries were threatened, wounded and murdered, and the higher officials of the government driven to seek the constant protection of armed guards. On March 4 President Cosgrave laid the situation before the public and announced that the police would take energetic measures to bring the reign of terror to an end before the machinery of the law should be thrown entirely out of gear. Numerous arrests were promptly made, and it was hoped that "the Ghosts," as the band of terrorists was known, had been broken up. None of the Irish parties lent open support to the revival of terrorism. In denying sympathy with the movement, however, Frank Fahy, one of Eamon de Valera's chief lieutenants in the Fianna Fail, added that "violent deeds will probably continue as long as candidates for the Free State Parliament are required to take the oath of allegiance to a foreign King."

Sentiments of the same character were expressed in the *Dail Eireann* by Eamon

de Valera himself, in discussing the government's narrow victory in a crucial by-election in North Dublin. In this important constituency Dr. Thomas O'Higgins, a brother of the murdered Vice President Kevin O'Higgins, defeated his Fianna Fail opponent by the close margin of 151 votes in an electorate of 96,000. The chief issue in the election was the government's request for a mandate to suppress terrorism. Dr. O'Higgins's campaign was waged against "Bolshevism, de Valeraism and the gunmen." It was generally felt that a defeat in this constituency on this issue would have resulted in the fall of the government, and the prestige of the Ministry was undoubtedly lowered by the narrow majority which its candidate polled.

Speaking in the Dail after this election, Mr. de Valera pointed to the Ministerial benches and declared: "If you are going to continue repressive measures you are going to have done to you what was done against the British Government in the past. You are simply regarded here as continuing British authority and you will have the same handicap unless you get the acceptance of some common assembly. Neither the government nor the Dail has any moral right to represent this country." Mr. de Valera's statement recalled to mind the fact that when he and his followers swore allegiance to the King as a prerequisite to entering the Dail they openly declared that the oath would have no binding effect upon them.

In a specially prepared statement President Cosgrave on April 11 declared that "it would be a great mistake to pay serious attention to scaremongers. * * * There are still a few people here—malcontents and fanatics—who are always ready to decry State institutions and damage their country. But their numbers are small and their influence is smaller."

The Irish Government was reported to have raised an interesting constitutional issue in connection with the composition of the Council of State which was constituted to act for King George during his illness. The Free State posi-

tion was said to have been that, if the commission was to include members not belonging to the royal family, the Dominions should have been consulted as to its composition and represented upon it. It is significant that when Professor Timothy Smiddy was recalled as the Free State Minister in Washington the papers were signed only by Queen Mary, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York.

SOUTH AFRICA—The political status of black natives and the trade treaty with Germany were the outstanding issues of the campaign preceding the general election in South Africa. The South African party, under the leadership of General Smuts, stands for political equality between the civilized blacks and the whites. General Hertzog and the Nationalists advocate separate Parliamentary representation for the native races, and wish to withdraw the equal franchise between the whites and the blacks which now exists in Cape Colony.

Announcement was made on March 22, upon authority of General Smuts, that if the South African party should be returned to power it would denounce the German treaty as promptly as possible, and in the meanwhile render it nugatory by refusing to enter into any customs agreement as provided in the protocol. June 12 has been set as election day.

AUSTRALIA—The Federal Parliament adjourned on March 22 until August, when the Spring budget session will be held. During the past session the Legislature passed a considerable portion of the government's measures, including laws providing for confirmation of the drastic regulations imposed during the shipping strike, ratification of the financial agreement with the States, the reconstitution of the Tariff Board so as to insure a division of its labors, the creation of an Economic Research Bureau to deal with tariffs, marketing, taxation, finance and transport, and the establishment of a wine export control authority.

Poincaré Maintains His Hold on French Parliament

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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THE Poincaré Ministry has weathered a long series of Parliamentary storms precipitated by legislation dealing with the religious orders and by sharp criticism of conditions in the French Army of Occupation in the Rhineland. The opposition came chiefly from the Radicals, who, since their withdrawal from the Union Ministry caused its downfall in November, have done their best to overthrow the reconstituted Poincaré Cabinet which succeeded it.

The Opposition campaign opened on March 14, when the government won two votes of confidence, first on a motion to give the religious orders bill precedence over regular business and later in defeating a motion for the previous question. The vote in the first case was 323 to 254, in the second 321 to 249. Two days later, after a stormy night session, the Premier won twice more, 308 to 262 and 314 to 246. In this case the Cabinet was under heavy fire because of the wretched conditions alleged to prevail among the soldiers in the Rhineland. During the month of February, it was reported, 272 soldiers had died of grip and influenza. The government's defense was that the ratio of 272 deaths to 45,000 soldiers was less than that caused by the influenza epidemic in Paris and elsewhere. It admitted that there had been individual failures during the unusual conditions, and promised to punish two Generals and a Colonel for dereliction in the crisis. It also promised reforms, especially in the medical and sanitary services, as well as pensions to the families of the soldiers who died. On March 22 Poincaré won

again, by 326 to 265, defeating a proposal to reduce inheritance taxes from 15 to 8 per cent, and on March 23 succeeded in passing the supplementary credits bill by a vote of 440 to 112. On March 25 the first vote by articles on the measures allowing the missionary orders to resume recruiting in France resulted in a victory for the Ministry by a vote of 317 to 1, the Opposition abstaining from voting. The first of the nine bills authorizing the religious missions to establish headquarters and train their recruits in France was adopted as a whole on March 27 by a vote of 325 to 255 after a bitter debate that apparently revived the religious controversy which began with the so-called lay laws of 1901 and 1904 and which was patriotically laid aside at the opening of the war. Parliament adjourned for the Easter holidays on March 30 with the Ministry firmly in the saddle, having passed the collective credits measure by a vote of 470 to 112 in the Chamber and unanimously in the Senate. The Chamber will probably reconvene about the middle of May.

Although M. Poincaré has apparently been willing, if not anxious, to resign on several occasions during the session, and despite the report that Mme. Poincaré wishes him to do so both to preserve his health and to conserve the family fortune, it seems likely that he will be able to conclude the reparations negotiations without serious danger of overthrow or voluntary resignation. It is known that M. Doumergue is eager to have the Premier remain in office until this problem is solved. Certainly, M. Poincaré is the best qualified man, on

past performance, to aid in that solution; and a solution satisfactory to France would be a fitting climax to a long, brilliant and honorable career.

Police, under orders of M. Chiappe, the Prefect of Police, on March 24 arrested all the 120 delegates to the congress of the Communist party. In disorders prior to the convening of the congress six policemen stationed in the hall had been roughly handled, one being so seriously injured that he had to be sent to a hospital. When those guilty of this attack refused to give themselves up, the police arrested the whole lot. Weapons were found on twenty-one of the delegates, and these were sent to La Santé prison, the others being released. Communists are now in municipal control in Clichy, St. Denis, St. Ouen and several other suburbs of Paris.

Woman suffrage in France seems destined to further indefinite postponement, possibly for a number of years. Just before adjournment for the vacation, the Senate voted, 175 to 126, to adjourn the debate on electoral rights for women. If precedent is followed it will be several years before the question reappears on the Senate agenda. The Senate had already rejected a suffrage bill in 1923. The present proposal was advanced as a result of a Cabinet discussion in February, when M. Poincaré announced himself as favorable to the legislation. There is no considerable strong opposition to the movement in the Chamber, and the Chamber committee on the suffrage let it be known that the Chamber would probably pass the measure promptly if the Senate would act favorably.

The French Senate by a unanimous vote ratified the Kellogg-Briand peace pact on March 29. In a speech which preceded the action of the Senate, M. Briand declared: "The pact places all nations on an equal footing. France has never made a distinction between the rights of powerful and weak nations. The pact is a general mobilization in favor of peace." The Chamber of Deputies had ratified the treaty on March 1. One of the last public appearances of Ambassador Herrick occurred in connec-

tion with the movement to arouse French public opinion in support of the treaty when he presided at a largely attended banquet, promoted by some forty French organizations. Fears that antagonism to the pact might be stirred up because of the death of a French seaman in the sinking by the American Coast Guard cutter Dexter of the Canadian schooner I'm Alone did not prove to be justified. Mr. Herrick's death is further emphasized when one considers the possibility of recurring causes of irritation such as this affair.

In commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Entente Cordiale between Great Britain and France the British Navy early in April provided a great display of sea power off Cannes. The entente was signed by King Edward VII on April 8, 1904. Anglo-French solidarity, somewhat disturbed by the collapse of the Anglo-French naval pact, was undoubtedly strengthened by this manifestation, which recalled the efforts of King Edward to promote the entente, without which France and Great Britain might have been easy victims of possible German aggression. It is of interest to note that *L'Europe Nouvelle*, the French political weekly, has begun the publication in fifty volumes of the diplomatic history of the World War and its origins, as revealed by French diplomatic documents. Three of the fifty volumes have already been published; they deal with the events of 1911 and 1912, especially the Agadir incident. With the completion of the undertaking the war documents of most of the countries involved in the World War will be available for the historian.

The French Cabinet has refused an application from Leon Trotsky for permission to take up his residence in France. The decision was based on an old decree expelling him from the country.

It is reported that France and Italy have resumed negotiations in an effort to settle all outstanding differences, particularly as to the status of Italians in Tunis and the delimitation of the frontier between Tunis and Tripoli.

Parliament has authorized the forma-

tion of a technical commission to study the possibility of constructing a railway across the Sahara. The project would have far-reaching economic and military effects. American promoters have also proposed the reclamation of some 210,000 square miles of desert by flooding an area some 265 miles wide with salt water from the Mediterranean, admitted by a series of canals connecting lakes which are now dry during the Summer. These projects, like the Spanish scheme for a floating tunnel across the Strait of Gibraltar and the renewed advocacy both in France and in Great Britain of a tunnel under the English Channel, are evidences of bold scientific and engineering imagination that may yet become reality.

Le Gaulois, the conservative French daily of Paris, was merged on March 31 with *Le Figaro*. Both journals were owned by François Coty, the perfume manufacturer. *Le Gaulois*, founded sixty-four years ago, was an aristocratic paper, with Royalist leanings, giving much attention to social life. *Le Figaro*, with which it is now consolidated, is more than 100 years old.

BELGIUM—The alleged secret treaty between France and Belgium, published in the *Utrecht Dagblad* in February, has been admitted to be a forgery by its concocter, Albert Heine, who claims to be a grandson of Heinrich Heine the German poet. He is under arrest in Brussels. Publication of the forged documents has directed attention to the delicate nature of two Belgian problems, the negotiations with the Netherlands over access for Antwerp to the sea and the Rhine and the Flemish nationalistic movement. The former question has been under discussion since last September, when negotiations were resumed after a three-year lapse following the failure of the Belgian-Dutch treaty negotiated in 1925. The latter presents great difficulties, involving as it does the Flemish language question in the army, the movement to make the University of Ghent exclusively Flemish, and the political problems arising from the exclusion of Dr. August Borms from

the Belgian Parliament last December. Borms, a leader of the Flemish separatists and a member of the Council of Flanders during the German occupation, was elected to Parliament from Antwerp in a by-election on Dec. 9. On Dec. 18 Parliament declared him ineligible and gave his seat to his Liberal opponent, whom he had defeated nearly two to one (83,058 votes to 44,410), on the ground that Borms was in prison and in addition had been sentenced to loss of his civil rights because of his pro-German activities during the war. On Jan. 16 an amnesty law was passed, under which Borms was released from prison on the following day. A great demonstration of Flemish nationalists in Antwerp on that day was repeated on Feb. 3. The problem is one of the thorny questions growing out of the self-determination ideal advanced during the war.

Belgium has ratified the Kellogg-Briand pact by unanimous action of both Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Belgium and the United States have also signed treaties of arbitration and conciliation similar to those signed by the United States and other countries during the past year.

MONACO—On March 24 the usually quiet principality of Monaco, in which Monte Carlo is situated, had something approaching a revolution when about 600 of the 700 voters of the principality marched on the palace to demand improvement of conditions. A few shots were fired and one policeman was wounded. The reigning Prince, Louis, received a delegation of five citizens, who demanded restoration of the National Council of Twelve and the Municipal Council of Fifteen, as well as improvement in the public utilities, particularly the gas and water supply. The Prince promised to restore the Councils by June 1. Early in April further demonstrations were in prospect. Under the Treaty of Versailles France may intervene in Monaco whenever the principality is unable to handle its own affairs. The population of Monaco is about 22,000.

Economic Conditions in Germany

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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and

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THE Cabinet crisis of February subsided into inconspicuousness during March. Chancellor Mueller's "Ministry of personages" rested on no sounder foundation than previously, but the menace to its continuance was obscured by quiet sessions of the Reichstag and the focusing of attention upon the deliberations of the financial experts in Paris (treated elsewhere in this magazine).

However, in April, all hopes of forming a coalition Cabinet were defeated by what appeared to be a Cabinet crisis, when the Socialists in the Reich, on April 9, refused to vote the government a second instalment on the building of Germany's new 9,000-ton cruiser. The next day Chancellor Mueller urged all dissenting coalition parties to stand by the government until the reparations question should be settled, and as the cruiser budget will not come up for debate until June, the Cabinet was not destroyed. It was further strengthened on April 13 by the official appointment of three Centrist Ministers.

Finance Minister Hilferding submitted to the Reichstag on March 14 the emergency budget for 1929-1930. He admitted a deficit of 500,000,000 marks (about \$120,000,000), of which 250,000,000 is due to the extraordinary demands on the Reich's treasury by unemployment insurance, unemployment in Germany having assumed unparalleled proportions during the Winter months. Reductions in the expenses of various government departments and new assessments estimated at 379,000,000 marks

are to make up the deficit, beer and brandy being heavily taxed. Two days afterward in order to defray immediate expenses the Finance Minister arranged with several German banks for a loan of 150,000,000 marks (about \$37,000,000), in anticipation of tax collections.

The German farmers continued to solicit the government for help. Tariff protection for farm products and urgent demands for early enactment of legislation to alleviate the prevailing economic and social conditions confronting German agriculture were the features of a memorial submitted to Chancellor Mueller on March 21. The petition set forth what was described as the desperate situation into which the entire industry has lapsed through lack of working capital, inefficient operating methods and growing dependency on food importation from abroad. The petition demanded protective duties on grain, live stock, dairy products and sugar and fixation of price categories for imports and home products. The formation of chambers of agriculture, credit grants and improved wages and housing conditions for farm workers also were urged.

While awaiting governmental aid the farmers endeavored to overcome the difficulties caused by the exceedingly cold Winter. The frozen ground and unusually swollen Spring floods delayed the work of Spring planting approximately six weeks. Night shifts were resorted to so as to accelerate the sowing of the crop, the government Department of Economics helping to organize forces to work through the night by the use of

all the artificial lighting contrivances, old and new, which could be sent to the agrarian districts.

The Steel Cartel meeting at Brussels on March 14 voted to increase the aggregate output of all members by 2,000,000 metric tons. According to the new arrangement the members of the trust, composed of Germany, France, Belgium and Luxemburg, will be allowed a total production of 29,587,000 metric tons of steel during the current year. The figure is close to the 30,000,000-ton limit set by members when the trust agreement was signed in Brussels on Sept. 30, 1926. It is assumed that the additional 2,000,000 tons will be distributed in accordance with the percentages allotted to the members of the Cartel under the present arrangement. Last year all the countries exceeded their quotas and thereby incurred the \$2 fine for each ton in excess. Germany produced 1,700,000 tons more than her share. The total production last year of the four members illustrates their relative capacity for steel manufactures. Germany produced 14,500,000 tons; France, 9,387,000; Belgium, 3,821,000, and Luxemburg, 2,571,000.

The business prospects for 1929 indicate that the total of 30,000,000 tons will require revision upward next year, especially in view of almost capacity production by American companies at the present time. The Cartel is trying to form a unit sales organization which will assimilate several foreign sales organizations of the members into one and thus reduce operating costs. France and Belgium have so far been unable to reconcile their interests.

The free port of Hamburg in the last year has outstripped both Rotterdam and Antwerp in ship tonnage and has also slipped ahead of the Port of London Authority. It is second only to New York among the world seaports.

The commission set up under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles for the establishment of a free port for Czechoslovakia within the confines of the free port of Hamburg will soon meet formally to take over certain piers above which the Czechoslovakian flag will be

hoisted and for which that State will pay an annual rental to Hamburg for the next ninety-nine years. The commission consists of one Czech, one German and one Briton. It has already chosen a shipping basin and agreed upon the terms under which it will be policed by Germany. The immediate result may be the diverting to Hamburg and the River Elbe of much of the shipping which now goes to Trieste, which port handled more than 2,000,000 tons last year. With the Elbe internationalized, other States, notably in the Balkans, are seeing such an advantage in shipping via Hamburg that the port authorities recently contracted for new piers which will almost double the size of the harbor. The expense involved proved only a temporary problem, as the State of Prussia offered to finance the plan on a 50 per cent administrative basis.

AUSTRIA—Riots were precipitated by Fascist activities in both Austria and Switzerland. In Vienna on March 24 eighteen workers were seriously injured and a large restaurant at Gratwein was demolished during a series of clashes between members of the Fascist Home Defense League of the town and Socialist workmen. At Baden, near Vienna, similar but serious collisions took place between the Fascisti and Socialist organizations.

On April 3 Chancellor Seipel resigned, causing a government crisis.

SWITZERLAND—Basle on March 24 resembled an armed town. A large force of Federal and Cantonal troops guarded the consulates, arsenal and public buildings while cavalry patrolled the streets in order to prevent possible riots during anti-Fascist demonstrations which had been arranged by Communists. Twenty-six Reds, including two ring-leaders, were arrested. Several others were seized by the police on their way to Basle from other Swiss towns. Pamphlets, distributed in the streets, violently attacked Premier Mussolini and the Fascist Government. During the commotion the Socialists abstained from demonstrations.

Mussolini Defines New Relation of Church and State

By ELOISE ELLERY

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ITALY'S pact with the Vatican continues to be provocative of much discussion and, outside Italy at least, of wide divergence of opinion. One writer declares that it has ended religious freedom in Italy and established Fascism and Catholicism "in an international imperialism over the temporal and religious worlds," while another writer maintains that, instead of ending religious freedom, it has put it upon a firm footing, and that of the extension of temporal power there is not the slightest danger. From Italy one hears only laudation.

The texts of the treaties, together with Premier Mussolini's report, were published on March 14. Such publication between the closing of one Legislature and the opening of the next is quite unusual in Italian parliamentary procedure. Exception is said to have been made in order to enable the Deputies to study the documents in advance and thus avoid any delay in ratification.

The relation between Church and State is explained by Mussolini in his report, as follows:

In a Catholic State the Catholic Church ought to enjoy the juridical situation of particular favor if not of privilege in the old sense of the word. Article I of the concordat reaffirms this principle on which no doubt can fall. We renounce the idea of considering the Catholic Church as a private association under common law, with religion a problem of individual conscience in which the State is not interested, and of the State as an organization agnostic in religious matters and indifferent to all religions.

The concordat inaugurates a régime of accord and collaboration, no longer confusion, between the Church and State. The collaboration expressed in the concordat presupposes a distinction between two powers, one dominating in the field of religious conscience and the other in

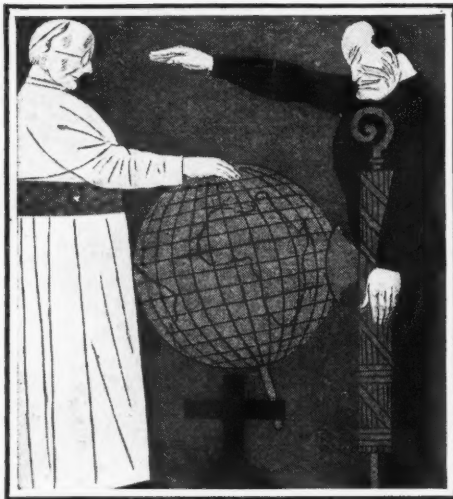
the civil political field, but between the two fields there are relations and continuous interferences so that the necessity of accord and collaboration of Church and State appears manifest.

One must not forget that the Italian State, which is the Fascist State, has not abandoned any part of its sovereignty. Neither must one fear that the concordat revives in Italy the Middle Ages and all the old situations which modern times had and have eliminated. There are revived neither privileged ecclesiastical courts nor right of asylum. Nor is liberty of conscience and sect suppressed. No one has sought to revive institutions of other times incompatible with the spirit of modern civilization, which the Catholic Church itself has demonstrated itself able to understand with its admirable spirit of adaptation.

Other religions will not be touched by the accord. In the concordat the Catholic Church is assured the free exercise of its spiritual power and receives a position of special prestige in consideration of the fact that the Catholic religion is the official religion of the State. But the full liberty in the exercise of other cults existing in the State, and the equality of citizens before the law, whatever religion they profess, is not and could not be touched in the slightest way. We propose to set this fact forth with precise laws guaranteeing in a tangible manner the free exercise of every cult when it is not contrary to public order and the common good, reaffirming a lack of connection between religion and enjoyment of civil and political rights in the kingdom.

Even more laudatory is the expression of the Vatican through its organ, the *Osservatore Romano*:

The Italo-Vatican reconciliation will certainly dominate the history of the second quarter of this century, just as the great catastrophe of religious and civil conflicts, followed by a world conflagration, dominated the first quarter. It deserves the name of conciliation or pacification and, indeed, of true social restoration, because it follows the lines laid down by Pope Pius XI to return God to Italy and Italy to God, at the same time giving other governments and peoples a strong impulse to return to God, and the whole of society to become reconciled to



HOW THE WORLD DOES MOVE—BUT BACKWARDS!

—*Simplicissimus, Munich*

God. In any case we have good reason to have every hope for Italy. But we also hope, and invoke, something similar for other nations, especially the Catholic and Latin ones, which make us feel most the necessity for such a reconciliation. * * *

Christ transmitted his mission to His Church and particularly to Him who is its visible chief and His vicar on earth, the Pope. No wonder, therefore, that Church and Pope continue to work in the very spirit of their divine instructor. Small wonder that they meet the scandalized reproof of contemporary Pharisees, heirs of the pride and passions of ancient ones. But this need never be a hindrance for the Church. It will, indeed, spur it on to continue the restoration and reconciliation which remained substantially unchanged throughout the centuries, though constantly adapting itself to the infinite changes of the times and men.

The publication of the text of the documents, together with the report, has brought out some details not included in the general summary: The Italian Government binds itself to provide the Vatican city with an adequate water supply, the Vatican not having its own sources. Flying machines will be prevented from crossing over Vatican territory in accordance with international law. The government declares the person of the Pope sacred and inviolable, and binds itself to punish attempts against him in exactly the same way as attempts against the person of the King. The

government agrees to punish any one unlawfully wearing clerical dress in the same way as it punishes persons unlawfully wearing a military uniform.

It further appears that at no time during the negotiations did the Vatican ask for the intervention of foreign powers as guarantors of the Italo-Vatican treaty or in any other capacity. Nor did the Vatican ask for a corridor to the sea or any other "complicated territorial amplification."

The legal changes made involve various material and practical changes for the new Vatican City. A commission has already been appointed to attend to these matters. They include the preparation of internal legislation and the provision for quarters for the enlarged staff and the Pontifical Gendarmerie Corps. More than 10,000 applications for posts in the administration of the new Vatican State have already been received.

Speaking before some 4,000 Fascist chiefs at the first Quinquennial Council of Fascism in Rome on March 10, Mussolini said that the special tribunal for the defense of the State may have acted with severity, but it had also acted with justice. As proof of this he declared that of 5,000 individuals tried by this tribunal more than 4,000 were acquitted,



RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL SON.

"Now give the Holy Father your hand and say you will never do it again"

—*Kladderatsch, Berlin*

275 were condemned to light sentences and 230 were to be freed this year.

The elections for the new "Corporative Parliament" took place on March 24. The result of the plebiscite showed an overwhelming victory for Fascism. According to semi-official figures, of 9,650,000 registered voters 8,650,000, or over 89 per cent, went to the polls. Of these, only 136,000 voted against Fascism. That is to say, nearly 99 of every 100 voted for Fascism. These numbers, declare the Fascist press, are a sufficient answer to the enemies of Fascism, and evidence that Fascism is the most complete democracy in existence. Moreover, the fact that 136,000 persons voted against the government list is cited as proof that in voting there was perfect freedom.

SPAIN—A further phase of the revolutionary movement which began in the Spanish artillery regiments some weeks ago developed recently among university students. On March 9 students in several towns went on strike in protest against de Rivera's action in closing the artillery school at Segovia and against his punishment of certain students. Among the demands of the Madrid students were the abolition of mixed tribunals of priests and professors which had been created by the government, restoration of two professors who had been imprisoned because of political activity, liberation of all imprisoned students, reopening of the Murcia University and dismissal of the Minister of Public Instruction and the

Dean of Madrid University. The action of the students was followed by the resignation of the governing body of the university and by the resignation of several directors and many professors in other universities.

To suppress this movement the Directorate announced drastic measures. The University of Madrid will be closed until October, 1930, thus sharing the disgrace of the rebellions at the Artillery School at Segovia. The students of the Special Engineers' School, also implicated in the riots, will have a year's study added to their requirements toward graduation, and a month's extra work will be exacted from students in all the provincial universities with the exception of those at Valencia, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Granada and Laguna, which did not join in the movement of protest. All members of the University of Madrid Board of Directors will be required to resign, as well as the directors of the

Special Engineers' School. These boards will be reorganized by the government.

How long the dictatorship is likely to continue under the present auspices is a matter of much discussion. In a recent interview the Premier is reported as saying that if he were living in March, 1931, he would be ready to abandon his functions. "By that time," he added, "I feel certain that the country will be in a proper state for the best citizens to maintain the upper hand over the politicians and the situation will have sufficiently evolved to permit the operation of a new and equitable Constitution."



A NEW ROLE FOR MUSSOLINI
Patron of the Religious Orders
—Notenkraker, Amsterdam

Rumania's New Attitude Toward Foreign Capital

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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RUMANIA'S new National Peasant régime headed by Premier Maniu has already been responsible for important changes in the economic policy of the country. Under former laws, the government might lease mining or oil rights only to companies 60 per cent of whose stock was owned by Rumania and two-thirds of whose directors were Rumanian citizens. A new statute was enacted in March which permits foreign companies to receive leases on an equal footing with Rumanian companies; and a great expansion in the activity of foreign capital in the country is anticipated. German, French, Swedish and Belgian interests are already taking steps to enlarge their mining and other properties and operations, while the Standard Oil interests, which are reported to have \$20,000,000 invested in the country, will continue to be an important factor. The Standard Oil Company has operated there for a number of years through its subsidiary, the *Romano Americana*.

The new order of things is naturally objectionable to adherents of the deposed Liberal government. Vintila Bratianu, former Premier and once the unacknowledged dictator of Rumania, who for months represented Premier Maniu's campaign against the Liberal régime as treasonable opposition to the Regency Council, but who now is himself in opposition, has attacked the Regency in no uncertain terms. Reviving his time-honored slogan, "Beware of foreign capital," he declares that the Regency Council and the present government have jettisoned the great tradition of King

Carol and King Ferdinand that the petroleum industry must never be dominated by foreign capital.

A visit of Dowager Queen Marie to France and Spain in March naturally gave rise to a great amount of gossip. The real purpose of the trip, it was said, was to hold conferences with the exiled former Crown Prince Carol in regard to placing him on the Rumanian throne. That any political significance was to be attached to the visit was, however, strongly denied in official circles, and observers well acquainted with the existing situation at Bucharest found no difficulty in accepting the denials at their face value. The Queen and her son met at Saint Briac, Brittany, in the villa of Grand Duke Cyril, pretender to the Russian throne, whose wife is one of the Queen's sisters; and Rumania was filled with rumors, not only of a full reconciliation but of the Prince's impending return to the country as a member of the Regency, if not eventually as sovereign. But from Spain the Queen reported to Premier Maniu that Carol fully recognized the futility of any attempt to return to Rumania or to gain the throne, and that he had promised that he would not embarrass her or the Regency by attempting to unseat King Michael, his seven-year-old son.

HUNGARY—The extreme difficulty of touching the peace treaties at any point without disturbing the equilibrium of Europe received fresh illustration in March when Count Joseph Karolyi, prominent legitimist and friend of former Queen Zita, delivered some

earnest remarks on the revision of the Trianon treaty. The purport of the observations was that merely to restore to Hungary compact masses of racial Hungarians cut off in 1919 and now living just within the borders of Little Entente countries would be an economic catastrophe and would drive Hungary into an economic union with Austria and Czechoslovakia. Whereas other Hungarians talk only about revising the treaty bit by bit, Karolyi demanded the maximum at a single stroke.

The incident has stirred much heated discussion in Hungary, where the Legitimists generally feel that their cause has been seriously compromised, while the Little Entente countries are jubilant over the manner in which the Count has "let the cat out of the bag," and over the consequent turmoil in the Magyar State. It would seem that the speaker has himself taken alarm, because he has since urged that his observations were only "academic."

"The only difference between Count Karolyi and his opponents," says the Czechoslovak press, "is that he demands the maximum immediately and the other Hungarians bit by bit. The second plan is, perhaps, more dangerous. The absurdity of demanding the maximum is obvious to the world. But the partial revisionists seek plausibly to create a stronger Hungary by piecemeal revision in order to pursue more forcefully the same objective of restoration of the former domination of Hungary over alien races."

POLAND—The resignation of Finance Minister Czechowicz on March 8 on the ground that the confused state of parties in the Sejm made it impossible for him to administer his department successfully was followed by that of Prime Minister Casimir Bartel, who announced his retirement on April 3 partly for reasons of health but apparently chiefly because of the same considerations that actuated his former colleague. There is probably no other country in the world in which so great a confusion of parties exists. Each is divided into several groups, including three labor

parties and five representing as many nationalities.

For nine months the Premier, with President Moscicki, M. Zaleski and the former Finance Minister, had been fighting the minority groups in the Sejm to prevent them from uniting against the Pilsudski régime until the new Constitution that is the aim of the régime could be adopted and put into effect. The President was strongly opposed to a change of Ministries at present, and tried to persuade M. Bartel to reconsider his decision. When this effort failed he sought to induce General Pilsudski, Minister of War, to return to the Premiership, but in this he also failed. Thereupon he proposed a Cabinet of "reconciliation with Parliament," even if it was not clear how he could expect any Cabinet whatsoever to be able to work harmoniously with the Sejm as it stood.

Finally, on April 14, Major Casimir Switalski, former Minister of Education and a supporter of Pilsudski, was appointed the new Premier. Four other changes in the Cabinet were made to strengthen Marshal Pilsudski's hold on the government.

YUGOSLAVIA—On April 6 the dictatorship proclaimed by King Alexander because of the intolerable warfare of parties was three months old. Surveys of conditions throughout the country showed that, while there was little enthusiasm for the new order, there was also no open opposition, the people of all classes apparently having adopted a waiting attitude. Undoubtedly the impression of easy tolerance gained by newspaper correspondents could be attributed in no small measure to effective censorship of the press, although it must be added that rarely has a government possessed of such powers been more sparing in exercising them. The government itself has been altogether uncommunicative.

On April 12 King Alexander took a further drastic step when he retired General Pesitch from his position of chief of the general staff, along with other military leaders. In the place of Gen-

eral Pesitch, a General Milovanovitch has been appointed. The retirement is thought to be the result of alleged criticisms of the government by General Pesitch.

Negotiations relating to the long-desired foreign loan have been brought to no conclusion. The house of Rothschild in London is carrying on investigations, although the whip-hand in the matter is held rather by the New York banking firm of Blair & Co., through which lesser loans were floated in 1922 and 1924.

GREECE—A treaty of friendship between Greece and Yugoslavia, which, it is hoped, will permanently strengthen pacific relations in Southeastern Europe, was signed at Belgrade by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries on March 21. Economic conventions between the

two were signed at Geneva a week earlier. The Belgrade Treaty provides for arbitration by the League of Nations in case of trouble between the two States, and also sets up a special arbitration tribunal for the handling of minor disputes. A similar treaty was concluded with Rumania a year ago.

Both Greece and Yugoslavia, it is explained, hope to establish better relations with Bulgaria. Whether their wish will be fulfilled would seem to depend principally on Bulgaria's willingness to resign herself permanently to the limitations imposed on her by the Treaty of Neuilly. The treaty just concluded probably means that Greece and Yugoslavia will henceforth show a common front in their attitude toward Bulgaria and her alleged encouragement of the formation of an autonomous Macedonian State under League of Nations protection.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Wedding of Crown Prince Olaf and Swedish Princess

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AFTER three days of festivities and enthusiastic demonstrations in Oslo, Princess Martha, daughter of Prince Carl and niece of King Gustav of Sweden, and Crown Prince Olaf of Norway were married on Thursday, March 21. The wedding, which emphasized the friendly relations existing between the two nations of the Scandinavian peninsula since their peaceful separation in 1905, was a brilliant affair, attended by the royalty and nobility of many countries, although the actual ceremony was dignified and simple.

At a reception at the palace on March 20 the American Minister, Laurits S. Swenson, as dean of the diplomatic corps, presented to the Prince and Princess a silver tea service on behalf

of his colleagues and also, as a present from Norwegian-Americans in the eastern United States, a landscape painted in Maine by the Norwegian artist, Jonas Lie of New York. The Prince and Princess attended a brilliant performance at the National Theatre during the evening.

The wedding took place in the Church of Our Holy Saviour, with Bishop Johan Lunde officiating. After a brief sermon emphasizing all the bonds connecting the Swedish and Norwegian States, the Bishop read the usual Lutheran marriage service. On the same evening the Prince and Princess left Oslo for a wedding trip to the Riviera.

NORWAY—The shelling and boarding of the *I'm Alone* and its diplomatic

aftermath as between Canada and the United States give especial interest to the similar episode that occurred on April 5, when the Norwegian steamship Juan, bound up Chesapeake Bay with a cargo of bananas from Honduras, under command of Captain Karl Anderson and with Pilot E. Kesterson on board, was fired upon and stopped by four shells from U. S. Coast Guard 189. The fourth shell, which caused the Juan to heave to, landed about 1,200 feet from the ship. She was boarded and searched by two members of the crew of the CG-189, who found no contraband liquor and no evidence of any violation of the laws of the United States. The Juan proceeded to Baltimore, where her master and the pilot made reports of the incident to the secretary of the Norwegian Vice Consul. Both the Juan and her master were well known in the Chesapeake Bay, since she had been in the banana trade, under charter to the United Fruit Company, for some time.

SWEDEN—The Riksdag voted adherence to the Kellogg Anti-War Pact, only the Communists voting against it.

Leaders of the pulp and paper industries in Sweden, Norway and Finland, at a meeting in Stockholm on April 6, organized for closer cooperation and a vigorous campaign to sell their products abroad. On the initiative of the Swedish Government a congress will soon be held in Stockholm to abolish passports between the Scandinavian countries.

Swedish shipping was hampered by drift ice in the Baltic Sea, although the situation showed an improvement over the preceding week.

A marked increase in the passenger traffic between Sweden and the United States was shown by statistics released by the Swedish-American Line showing that the total number of passengers carried on its ships during the past year was 36,566, the highest figure hitherto on record. Corresponding figures for 1926 and 1927 were 33,428 and 35,279, respectively. Last year not less than 9,000 Swedish visas for native-born Americans were given by the Swedish consulates in the United States.

An interesting incident in the early life of President Hoover in China was brought to life in Stockholm in a radio lecture by F. A. Larsson, business manager and caravan leader of the Hedin expedition, while on a visit to Sweden. When living in Urga, the holy city of the Mongolian Buddhists, about 30 years ago, Mr. Larsson said, there lived with him a young American who was working as a railroad builder on the line between Peking and Kalgan. He was a courageous, wide-awake lad, always in good humor, and by his energy and devotion to his duties he served as an example to the other engineers. His name was Herbert Clark Hoover.

At the age of forty, Ivar Rooth of Stockholm was elected head of the Riksbanken, or Bank of Sweden, to succeed the late Victor Moll. Mr. Rooth, who is considered one of Sweden's most brilliant young financiers, was born in 1888 and entered banking at the age of 23.

The Jubilee Fund, presented to King Gustaf on his seventieth birthday by Swedes at home and abroad, and turned over by the monarch to Swedish medical institutions for the purpose of fighting cancerous diseases, showed a grand total of 5,043,000 kronor, according to the final accounting.

The Nobel Prize winners will this year receive a new record sum of \$46,300 each, as compared to \$42,060 in 1928 and \$32,478 in 1927. The Anglo-Swedish Literary Foundation, endowed by the Nobel Prize money donated by George Bernard Shaw in 1925 for new translations into English of the works by famous Swedish authors, issued its first volumes under the imprint of Jonathan Cape of London. The initial offering consisted of four plays by August Strindberg.

DENMARK—The dissolution of the Danish Folkething, which took place on April 23, was sanctioned by a royal decree on March 23. A general election was fixed for April 24. The government's decision to hold a new election was brought about by the defeat of the Ministry's budget bill on March 21.

THE SOVIET UNION

Food Crisis Looms Again in Soviet Russia

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

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DURING this season of the year the interest of all classes in Russia is focused upon the grain situation. Statistics of the quantities of grain collected by Soviet agencies in the villages, detailed statements of the progress of Spring planting, daily reports on the weather conditions prevailing in the principal grain-raising districts, are items of large news value appearing on the front pages of the newspapers. And rightly so, for these matters of sober fact not only provide for the ordinary citizen a basis upon which to predict what the coming months hold in store for him in terms of physical welfare, but constitute for the student of Russian national affairs an index to the stability of the country's economic structure and a clue to communist policy. A year ago at this time the grain reports foreshadowed a national crisis in economic affairs and a rigorous testing of the policies of the government. Evidences of these conditions appeared in due course in the form of bread lines, ration cards and short commons for the city people; complete cessation of export trade in grain; uncertainty and instability in the sphere of public policy which culminated late in the Summer in open and violent revolt in the villages.

During the past month it has become apparent that agrarian conditions compare unfavorably even with last year's gloomy record. The January collections were only half of last year's corresponding total. In February, there was an abrupt and ominous suppression of government statistics relative to grain, and it was not until March 9 that the *Pravda* published information regarding the experience of the grain-collecting agencies

during the preceding six weeks. It was then disclosed that the February collections had been unsatisfactory. For the first week of March, grain requisitions in the Ukraine, upon which the authorities had been depending to make good the deficit of the preceding months, fell far below the official predictions. From certain regions came reports of the slaughter of horses and cattle because of the lack of fodder. In some of the cities the rationing of food has begun under conditions of rigid economy. So obvious now are these signs of impending food shortage that Soviet officers and the official journals of the party are making no effort to minimize the seriousness of the situation, or to conceal the fact that the policy of the government must be remodeled to meet the emergency.

A significant feature of the problem is the fact, agreed upon by all shades of opinion, that the agrarian crisis is not due to the absolute scarcity of grain in the country, but to the failure of the Soviet agencies to induce the peasants to surrender their hoards. It is also agreed that this failure is due in turn to the low price for grain fixed by the government; or, more fundamentally, to the scarcity and dearth of the industrial products into which the peasant must translate his money income. In some districts the official price is not more than a third of that offered in the free market. Everywhere there is a dearth of factory products, a situation attributable basically to the prohibition of imports and the meagerness of the country's own industrial equipment; but aggravated by the recent policy of exporting these products in order to pro-

duce a favorable balance of trade. The peasants' natural reaction to this situation is to refuse to part with their grain; or, if badgered too much by the commissars, to replace their planting of grain by other crops which can be consumed by their own families. The problem thus becomes a political one; how to bring the profit-seeking activities of the vast peasant population under the control of a governmental mechanism whose purposes are destructive of private profit. Last year the Communist leaders attempted to solve the problem through the use of force, with such disastrous result that they agree that this method must not be applied in the present emergency. Thus far this year they have not devised an alternative program, except to urge the poorer and the middle class peasants to aid the government by boycotting the "Kulaks" (rich peasants). But this policy, too, has been tried and found wanting. *Izvestia* recently published a survey of the boycott system, condemning it as a failure for the significant reason, among others, that it is often found necessary to boycott as many as 20 per cent of the village population. The importance of the agrarian problem as a controlling factor in Communist policy is indicated by the postponement of the All-Union Party Congress, which was scheduled for the last week in March. Recognizing the fact that the program of the year must be shaped to meet the grain situation, the party leaders have decided that the Congress should be held after the results of the Spring planting campaign are known. This campaign calls for a 7 per cent increase in the sown area. A similar program last Fall not only failed to increase the planting of grain, but resulted in an actual decrease of some 10 per cent below the previous year.

These agrarian difficulties confront the Soviet Government at a time when other formidable economic problems are pressing for solution. The State credit resources have been subjected to serious strain from several directions. The program of rapid industrialization has demanded large public expenditure in the form of capital for the new State fac-

tories and for the purchase of machine equipment from abroad. The more recent program of socialization in agriculture makes a similar demand for funds from the State Treasury. The ambitious hydroelectric development, which is a complement of both programs, is similarly expensive. In the meantime the gradual extinction of private trade, while calling for the creation of State agencies at government cost to replace the evicted merchants, destroys one source of public revenue. Foreign credit has been diminished by the loss of Russia's previously substantial export trade in grain. Large payments to foreign countries—especially Germany—on account of former credit transactions are now falling due. These forces combine to create so serious a financial problem that M. Piatakov, president of the State Bank, has been moved to publish a gloomy forecast of the credit situation during the coming months, insisting that the strictest economy and marked improvement in many directions will be necessary to carry the country through the fiscal year. It must not be inferred from this account of Russia's economic instability that the Soviet Union is on the verge of bankruptcy, or that the power of the present régime has been seriously shaken. On the contrary, it is the opinion of those foreign observers of sound judgment who are in closest touch with the situation that the Communist Party will win through these difficulties, as it has weathered more ominous storms in the past. But to succeed in doing so will undoubtedly demand a willingness to concede and compromise, the effect of which must be to temper the Communist policy with more conservative elements.

In the midst of these evidences of economic insecurity the country has been passing through a political campaign culminating in the election of representatives to all the Soviet councils from the lowest to the highest. This year the response of the voters will be accepted as a vote of confidence in the Stalin leadership, since it is expressed not only in the midst of the economic difficulties which we have been considering, but also during the excitement

aroused by the banishment of Trotsky. The returns available at the time this is being written indicate a sweeping victory for Stalin and his lieutenants, certainly in the principal cities. In this connection, however, the foreign student of Russian affairs must take account of the handicap in favor of the party officialdom created by the peculiar electoral system of Russia. No organized opposition party is tolerated in the country; for the electorate at large the alternative to membership in the Communist party is to abstain entirely from partisan activity. Moreover, within the Communist party itself factionalism is ruthlessly suppressed after the central council has adopted its platform; and the holders of office can with little difficulty control the decision of the council. In the constituencies voting takes place in open meeting by show of hands, and consists in confirming or rejecting the slate prepared and presented by local representatives of the party.

The internal discipline of the Communist party which thus holds autocratic sway within Russia's electoral system is well displayed in the annual "cleansing of membership" just brought to a close. In contrast with political parties in democratic countries the Communist party does not attempt to increase its membership through proselyting campaigns. On the contrary, the process of joining the party subjects the candidate to a searching ordeal, while to continue as a member calls for fasting and prayer. The candidate is passed through a probationary period, varying in length with his social antecedents, and is thereafter repeatedly called upon by the party inquisitors to submit proof that his zeal has not flagged nor his faith failed to bear fruit in appropriate works.

This year the crisis precipitated by Trotsky's defection has produced a shake-up of party membership more thoroughgoing than any that has occurred since 1921. For example, within the administrative staff of the government, as distinct from the party, there has been a weeding-out of place men who have been drawing unearned sustenance from the government payroll.

Lastly, the revised labor code brings a degree of autocracy and discipline to bear upon the ordinary wage earner which would be an anachronism in the most capitalistic of countries. Absence from, or tardiness at work; slackness or inefficiency; insolence or other insubordination are now punishable, after a second warning, by summary dismissal. The right of appeal to the trade union council, which formerly protected the wage earner against harsh treatment, has been destroyed, and the only remaining recourse is to the courts of law. Moreover, the discharged workman can find new employment only through the labor exchanges, where his name is placed at the bottom of the waiting list; and this will mean, in view of the existing widespread unemployment, a long period of privation.

There are as yet no indications that the expulsion of Trotsky has had serious effect upon the unity of the Communist party within Russia; though the unusual vigor with which the "cleansing" has been applied this year, and the general tightening of discipline within the party, the government, and industry at large, may be taken as defensive measures employed by the Stalin faction. The strict censorship within Russia has prevented Trotsky's side of the matter, as presented in his manifestos from Constantinople, from reaching the rank and file of the party membership. The publication of these manifestos in the press of capitalist countries has been turned by the Soviet officials into an indictment of the former generalissimo of the Red Army on the ground that he has sold his soul for "capitalist gold" and now "works for the bourgeoisie." To be caught reading or even in possession of one of Trotsky's suppressed pamphlets is a cause for dismissal from the party. In regard to Trotsky himself, he is still in Constantinople. Despite repeated agitation on the part of political groups in Germany, the Reich authorities have refused him permission to live in the country. He has also been barred from residence in France, on the basis of a former decree of expulsion. There is a rumor in the press to the effect that the

Federal authorities in Switzerland have consented to his temporary residence in Martigny. The fact that Trotsky has leased a house in Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, indicates that he is settling down there with his family for a protracted stay.

In advance of the event, considerable effect upon the relations of the Soviet Union with Great Britain had been expected from the visit of the English business men's delegation to Russia at the end of March. The Russians, however, have not accorded the delegation an enthusiastic reception. It is not a propitious time for making a favorable impression upon a foreign visitor, when food rationing, shops almost bare of commodities and the gloomy economic outlook generally are causing obvious concern to all classes of the people. The Soviet officials are inclined to suspect that the visit is not entirely free from ulterior partisan motives. By way of

contrast, they continue their friendly and conciliatory attitude toward the United States and things American. Much publicity is given the \$25,000,000 contract for the erection of apartment buildings in Moscow recently signed by the Moscow Soviet and the Longacre Engineering and Construction Company of New York.

As bearing on the attitude of our people toward the Bolsheviks, there is much interest in the forgery trials now going on in Berlin. Evidence collected by the German police seems to prove conclusively that a group composed of Russian émigrés, with an admixture of ordinary adventurers, has been operating for years in the manufacture of fake documents discrediting the Soviet Government. The most recent product of this "Forgers' International" was the clumsy attempt to prove that Senator Norris and Senator Borah were in the pay of Moscow.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

Postponement of Constitutional Government for Syria

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FURTHER documents have come to hand, having reference to the indefinite suspension of the Syrian Constituent Assembly in February. M. Ponsot, after several months in Paris, returned to Syria toward the end of December, 1928. No announcement was made until the beginning of February, 1929, as regards the constitutional settlement. During that time the High Commissioner conducted negotiations with the chiefs of the Assembly. On Jan. 11 he delivered to them a "general reservation," which was evidently the result of his conferences with the French Government. The plan was that this reservation should be inserted in the

Constitution, and that certain minor changes be made in the document to secure consistency, after which the French Government would accept the Constitution. The text of this reservation is inserted here, for purposes of comparison with the demands of the Assembly, as set forth in previous numbers of *CURRENT HISTORY*:

No disposition of the present Constitution is or can be in opposition to the obligations contracted by France concerning Syria, particularly toward the League of Nations.

This reservation applies especially to the articles concerning the maintenance of order, public security and the defense of the country, and also to those involving foreign relations.

So long as the international obligations

of France concerning Syria exist, any disposition of the present Constitution liable to affect these obligations will not be applicable except within the terms determined by an agreement to be concluded between the French and Syrian Governments.

Consequently, the laws prescribed by the articles of the present Constitution, the application of which may affect the aforesaid responsibilities, will not be discussed or promulgated until the agreement in question is achieved.

Legislative or administrative decisions by the representatives of the French Government cannot be modified except by agreement between the two governments.

Two weeks later the High Commissioner and the President of the Assembly held an interview, in which the latter suggested that those articles of the Constitution to which the High Commissioner took exception on Aug. 9 "would only be applied in conformity with special agreements to be concluded between the French and Syrian Governments, pending the conclusion of a treaty defining relations between the two countries."

On Feb. 5 M. Ponsot issued a decree in which he adjourned the Constituent Assembly *sine die*. At the same time he sent a letter to Hashim Bey Atassi, the President of the Assembly, in which, after reciting the above facts, he explained that he found a lack of agreement on the part of the Assembly with the text of the general reservation, which had expressed the utmost degree of conciliation which the French Government could admit under its mandate from the League of Nations. He stated further that he was unable to find in the limited proposal submitted by the President "sufficient elements for an understanding," adding:

A persevering effort still appears necessary in order to find an issue from the present difficulties; but in the meantime, and until deep reflection has prepared the way for a solution of this essential problem, the convocation of the Assembly would be without object. This is why, in the present state of uncertainty, when a definite result, so much desired in France as well as in Syria, can still be attained, I have today issued a decree adjourning *sine die* the constituent Assembly.

In discussing the differences between the desires of the Syrians and those of the French as expressed by the High Commissioner, the Nationalists offered

to modify their very comprehensive declaration about the boundaries of Syria, substituting in Article 2 the following words: "Syria is an indivisible political unit. The right of protest against the present boundaries is reserved." M. Ponsot claimed that the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations could not accept this proposed article.

The Nationalists also insisted that their new government should have the right to reconsider and alter previous laws promulgated by the High Commissioner. In particular, they objected to the transfer of the Syrian parts of the Hejaz Railway to a French company, and to the establishment of a Bank of Syria as a French corporation. M. Ponsot declined to permit such revisions of decisions.

Arguments of a profounder political nature were presented as regards the nature of mandates and the respective powers of the people under mandate, the League of Nations, and the mandatory power. In which of these three does the sovereignty over Syria rest? If it be admitted that the League of Nations and France have succeeded to the control of international relations of Syria that formerly belonged to the Ottoman Government, where do they get the right to settle internal questions for the Syrians?

An active campaign was held in the Lebanon during March, looking toward the election of a President. The qualified voters were forty-six, being the parliamentary Deputies, who choose the President for a three-year term.

TURKEY—The budget for the year 1929-30 has been drawn up at the level of \$110,000,000, being an increase over the previous year of \$6,500,000.

The Turkish Government has given a concession to a French group to prospect for oil in the vilayet of Van, and if found, to exploit it.

EGYPT—King Fuad plans again to visit England during the coming Summer. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Hafez Pasha Afifi, has already started to inspect the Egyptian legations and

consulates in Europe, and to prepare for the visit of King Fuad.

During the financial year, 1927-28, the government's receipts were \$6,000,000 above the estimates, while expenditures were brought far below the credits allotted. In consequence, \$15,000,000 was added to the surplus, bringing it to \$200,000,000, a sum larger than a year's revenue. Critics point out that the increase of surplus was mainly caused by delays in carrying out projects for which money had been appropriated.

Announcement was made on Feb. 16, that at the end of one year the government would introduce a new customs tariff. Accordingly, all foreign governments were notified that existing commercial conventions would be terminated on that date.

Imports into Egypt during 1928 amounted to \$260,000,000, an increase of \$16,000,000. Exports amounted to \$280,000,000, an increase of \$39,000,000, almost wholly accounted for by the increase in value of the exports of cotton.

New estimates indicate that Egypt is the most densely populated country in the world, containing three persons to the acre, who nevertheless derive almost all their support from agriculture. Inevitably, the scale of living must be very low. Most of the inhabitants live at an expense of less than 10 cents each per day.

IRAQ—At the time of the departure of Sir Henry Dobbs certain Kurdish and Turcoman chiefs presented memorials and gifts to the retiring High Commissioner. Some Arabic journals complained bitterly, accusing the Kurds of practically treasonable conduct. They claimed that while on the one hand Sir Henry had consistently opposed Iraqi independence, he was, in receiving these presents, encouraging the hope of Kurdish independence. The new High Commissioner, Sir Gilbert Clayton, arrived at Bagdad by air on March 2.

The Council of the League of Nations approved on March 9 a proposal from England to establish a judicial system in Iraq, which would place foreigners and natives on the same legal basis. It

was expected that the introduction of this system would remove a resentment which Persia had been feeling because of the unequal treatment of her subjects.

ARABIA—During March raids were reported into both Transjordan and Iraq. No special blame has been attached to King Ibn Saud. Arabs in all known centuries have regarded raiding as a glorious and profitable pastime, nor has any civilized government over lands adjoining Arabia been able to bring the practice entirely to an end. A more serious raid into Transjordan was reported at the beginning of April; 400 members of the great Howeiteh tribe were said to have perished. On April 7 it was reported that King Ibn Saud had restored peace along the Iraq frontier after a pitched battle with the recalcitrant Wahabi tribes led by Feisal el Dourish and Sultan Bijad.

The situation in Southern Arabia as between the Imam Yahya of the Yemen and the British authorities in Aden and the neighboring Aden Protectorate remains without solution. As noted in previous issues of *CURRENT HISTORY*, British efforts in 1925-6 to agree upon a treaty with the Imam failed. The Italians, however, negotiated in 1926 a treaty of trade and commerce, in which they recognized the complete independence of the Yemen.

PERSIA—The Persian budget for 1929 estimates receipts at \$30,000,000 and expenses at \$34,000,000. It was expected that increases in royalties from petroleum would make up the deficiency.

AFGHANISTAN—It was reported that King Amanullah had started with a formidable army from Kandahar for Kabul. It was also stated repeatedly that the usurping King, Habibullah, was losing hold in the latter city, from lack of money and supplies. Active warfare had not been resumed before the end of March. Various tribes appeared ready to receive again the rule of Amanullah, albeit making terms in the direction of abandoning reforms and increasing local autonomy.

THE FAR EAST

Chinese Nationalist Government Quells Rebellion

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DEMONSTRATING military as well as political capacity, the government established nearly two years ago by the Nationalist party at Nanking met a revolt in the important central Chinese city of Hankow in its incipient stages, and, with the aid of Colonel Max Bauer, military adviser and former associate of General Ludendorff, overthrew it with comparatively little trouble or bloodshed. The revolting leaders were Kwangsi Generals, Hu Tsung-tu and Yeh Chi. They had been associated with General Li Tsung-jen in what was known as the Wu-Han (Wuchang-Hankow) division of the Central Political Council, but at the time of the revolt General Li was in Shanghai. He took the responsibility for the ousting of Governor Lu Ti-ping from Hunan Province, but apparently the Nanking Government thought it wise to exonerate him from any intention to promote serious trouble. A fourth important militarist, Pei (or Pai) Chung-hsi, who had been stationed at Peking, resigned from his duties there and was believed to have aided or tried to aid the Wu-Han factionalists.

One need not go beyond the usual cause of such revolts as this to explain it. The men at Hankow objected to Nanking's efforts to restrict their power; they were desirous of checking the development of centralization. They counted on help from Canton and hoped that General Feng Yu-hsiang, based on Honan, might throw his support to them also. They were disappointed in both expectations. General Li Chai-sun, head of the Canton regional government, was arrested in Nanking and his successors

to power at Canton declared for the central government. Rumors that Li Chai-sun had been executed were persistent, but official statements denied their accuracy. General Feng resigned his post as Minister of War, pleading illness, but remained neutral in the government's clash with Wu-Han.

A strict censorship prevented the cabling of adequate details concerning the brief campaign necessitated along the Yangtse River between Hankow and Nanking. The Nanking Government at first confirmed General Ho Chien in the governorship of Hunan, although he had occupied it without instructions after putting Lu Ti-ping to flight. It could not, however, overlook the threat to its authority evident in the attitude of the Wu-Han Generals, hence the decision to drive them out. That it was able to carry out the decision is a most encouraging sign of strength, which is to be read not only, and perhaps least, as an indication of Nanking's military prowess but as evidence of a growing spirit of confederation among the leading military factions. A decisive element in the government's victory was its ability to borrow about \$10,000,000 (Mex.) from Shanghai banks.

Foreigners in Hankow felt some alarm lest retreating troops, out of control of their officers, should invade the concessions. Many Chinese sought refuge there as the Wu-Han forces began their retreat from advanced posts outside Hankow and poured through the city. Admiral Bristol, at Shanghai, was in readiness to dispatch destroyers up the river

if needed, but the rapid advance of the Nanking troops was relied upon to prevent looting. From Lanchow, Southern Kiangsi, a telegram signed by Bishop O'Shea of the Lazarist mission expressed the fear that Communist risings, in which missions had been burned and missionaries forced to take flight from their stations or to go armed for self-protection, might become general. Troops were sent from Canton to suppress the movement.

Developments in the regional conflict near Chefoo, Shantung, between the Nationalist leader, Liu Chen-nien, and the former brigand-Governor of the province, Chang Tsung-chang, favored the latter. The "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, of Manchuria, declined to send reinforcements to Liu, though requested to do so by President Chiang Kai-shek. Liu was compelled to evacuate Chefoo, but retained possession of Ninghaichow.

Dr. C. T. Wang and Minister Yoshizawa initialed an agreement on March 28 settling the long-standing issue over the Tsinan incident of May, 1928. It provided for the evacuation of Shantung by Japanese troops within two months and set up a commission to determine damages on both sides. No mention of guilt was included; instead, both governments declared that they "deplored" the incident and regarded the "unhappy feeling" that resulted from it as past. From Tokio it was reported reliably that the evacuation would be completed by the middle of May. The expectation was that Shantung would fall under the control of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang. The commission for determination of damages began its meetings at Shanghai on April 5.

With the formal departure of Governor Chao Chi on April 14, Tsing-tao for the first time passed nominally to the control of the Nanking Government. Chinese troops were not to enter the city until the Japanese evacuation of Shantung was completed.

The Third National Congress of the Kuomintang (Nationalist party) was convened at Nanking on March 15. The closest censorship was maintained over its sessions, which lasted until March 28.

Foreign correspondents were denied access to the meetings and Chinese newspapers were permitted to print only the communiqués released by the Central Executive Committee. This in spite of the fact that at least a majority of the delegates had been "hand picked" by the committee, which controls the government. For this precaution the party leaders in power were assailed by the "outs" at various centres, notably Peking, Hankow, Tientsin and Loyang. It was an earnest of the apprehension entertained by the governing faction of the party that free elections would result in a struggle of group with group, out of which its own overthrow might easily follow. The leading military men—Feng Yu-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan, Li Tsung-jen, Chang Hsueh-liang, Li Chai-sun—all were absent from the congress. President Chiang Kai-shek made a frank appeal for greater unity which carried a tone of Western brusqueness:

"Is China united? A cursory survey of the political situation shows that it is not. The provincial governments are acting independently in financial matters. They buy arms without the sanction of the central government and recruit soldiers of their own accord. What is worse, the provincial governments are taking advantage of their military strength to dictate to the central governments. The recent military conference decided that troops should not be mobilized except by order of the disbandment committee, but hardly had the conference ended than troop movements were begun in the Wu-Han area. Political unity has not been achieved."

The President denounced the leaders of the Kwangsi clique—Li Tsung-jen, Pei Chung-hsi and Li Chai-sun—as "arch-enemies of Nationalist China and traitors to the party and the government." The three were expelled from the party by the congress.

Consternation was caused by President Chiang Kai-shek's proclamation issued at Hankow on April 10, in which he declared that he intended returning to Nanking as soon as possible to tender his resignation as head of the National Government. He held himself responsible

for not having foreseen the political trend and for not having prevented the Wu-Han rebellion. In a message "to the people of China" he characterized himself as unequal to the task entrusted to him and professed a desire to travel abroad to "rest and study and eventually to return to serve my country as a private citizen." So far, however, Chiang has not resigned.

Sun Fo, Minister of Railways, laid before the congress a reconstruction program covering fifty years and involving the outlay of \$12,500,000,000 gold. It provided for the building of 20,000 miles of railway and 10,000 miles of motor highways. Fifty million were allotted to build the new capital at Nanking. The money, at the rate of \$250,000,000 a year, would be secured by government appropriations (40 per cent), internal loans (20 per cent) and foreign loans (40 per cent).

The election of the municipal council of the International Settlement at Shanghai resulted in the choice of five British, two Americans and two Japanese to the council.

The Chinese-French commission for the assessment of damages resulting from the Nanking incident (March, 1927), reached an agreement to assess material damages at \$106,100 Mex.

The name of the Province of Fengtien, Manchuria, was altered to Liaoning.

Sir Frederick Whyte, first speaker of the Indian Parliament and recently a writer and speaker on Far Eastern affairs, was appointed adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Nanking.

Dr. C. C. Wu presented his letters of credence as Chinese Minister to the United States on March 25.

The privilege of using the mails for the distribution of the American newspaper, *The North China Star*, withdrawn by the Nanking Government on Feb. 5, was restored on March 20. The statement made in these pages last month that the privilege also had been withdrawn from *The North China Standard*,

a Japanese daily in China, apparently was erroneous.

EVENTS IN JAPAN

THE Diet passed a new and higher tariff on lumber on March 23, which will affect principally pine, cedar, spruce and hemlock, imported largely from the United States. On the previous day the American Government had instructed its Chargé d'Affaires in Tokio to express informally the hope that American lumber products would not be placed on an unfavorable basis as compared with similar and competing products from other countries. The increase in duties, which was strongly opposed by consumers in Japan, was expected to add about \$3,000,000 annually to the national revenues.

The government prorogued the Diet on March 25. Several important bills which had passed the House of Representatives were lost in the House of Peers, owing to the general dissatisfaction of the upper house with the Cabinet's policy. Both houses, however, passed with but little debate a resolution approving the emergency imperial ordinance promulgated last June which gave the courts the option of adjudging the death penalty upon persons convicted under the so-called "peace-preservation law." This law, passed in 1925, prohibits any person from organizing or joining a society with the object of altering the national Constitution or destroying the system of private property.

Senji Yamamoto, a member of the lower house of the Diet, belonging to the Labor and Peasants party, was assassinated by Kuroda Hokuji, who had demanded that Yamamoto resign.

Count Shimpei Goto died on April 13 at the age of 73. Educated in Japan and Germany as a physician, his career ranged from being the first president of the South Manchuria Railway to the position of Foreign Minister. He was probably the most distinguished politician in Japan who never held the Premiership.



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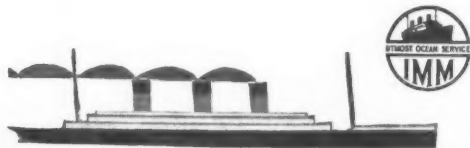


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STALIN'S POLICY AS SOVIET LEADER To the Editor of Current History:

Professor Furniss, in his summary of events in the Soviet Union, published in the April CURRENT HISTORY, states on Page 172: "As regards the present trend of policies in Russia under Stalin's leadership, Trotsky's analysis confirms the general impression that the Soviet régime grows continuously more conservative. * * * The policy of the Stalin group has been opportunistic rather than doctrinaire, but has tended to concede greater freedom of action to the peasant, with a resultant increase in his economic and political power. * * * It is clear on the record of Russian events during the past year that the destiny of the country is falling into the hands of moderate men, and its economic life is reflecting to an increasing degree the middle class mentality of the small landowner."

As you doubtless know, Stalin's policy for the past year has been one of increasing severity toward the rich peasant (*kulak*). The agrarian legislation passed in December, 1928, carries out Trotsky's program on this subject and is calculated to drive the small landowner out of both economic and political life. The similarity of Stalin's and Trotsky's policies is well presented in Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's article, "The Revolt Against Stalin," published in the April CURRENT HISTORY. Misunderstanding of Stalin's present position is particularly unfortunate in view of the fact that the recent news from Russia discloses definite opposition to him in the ranks of the really moderate Communist group which includes Kalinin, Rykov and Frumkin. VERA A. MICHELES.

Foreign Policy Association, New York.

RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES To the Editor of Current History:

J. W. Lockhart, in a letter in March CURRENT HISTORY, states that, from the legal point of view, the United States is a Christian country, but he omits to give the date or title of the act which made it so. True, he cites the opinion of the learned author of the *Commentary on American Law* to the effect that "the case assumes we are a Christian country"—an opinion concerning an assumption



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tion. Further on he quotes another legal luminary as saying: "To every religion we allow a limited liberty." All that his letter and quotations prove is that the United States will not tolerate any teaching which would disgust any person (Christian or unbeliever alike) who had been brought up according to our present-day standard of ethics. No unbeliever in Christianity doubts this, and so Mr. Lockhart's letter seems to me to answer a point which was never raised. He also says that the institutions of the United States are based on the "fundamental tenets of that religion." Can he say just what these "fundamental tenets" are, and is he quite sure that every Christian sect would agree with him? Mr. Lockhart's citations do not prove that the Constitution of the United States accepts the Bible as the Word of God, or the various conflicting doctrines taught by the multitude of conflicting Christian sects as the State religion.

It is somewhat surprising to read that the doctrine of evolution is "unsupported." Has Mr. Lockhart scientific authority for calling it "unsupported"? Would he care to read the sifted evidence of, say, twenty writers, whose only interest was to get at the truth, no matter whether Christianity, Buddhism, agnosticism or atheism suffered in the process. I can

furnish him with these names and a sketch of the evidence they adduce in support of evolution. Of these writers, some are Protestants, some atheists, some Roman Catholics (a Jesuit priest, Father Wasserman especially), and some agnostics. Their evidence is certainly startling and, to me, very convincing.

Bowmanville, Ontario.

R. WEST.

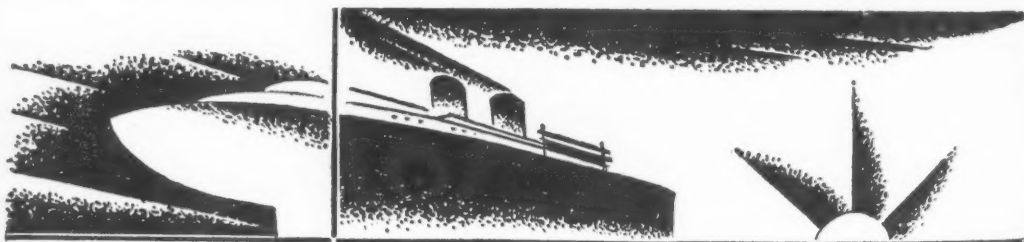
* * *

CZECH-MAGYAR CONTROVERSY

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Permit me to observe that in Dr. Rose Wi-stein's reply in April *CURRENT HISTORY* to an article by former Consul General Ernest Ludwig nearly every statement is in contradiction to the facts.

It is not true that the Magyar estates taken by the Czechs have been paid for at pre-war valuation. For estates up to 1,000 hectares (2,471 acres) the average price of the years 1913 to 1915 was to be calculated, for larger estates as little as 40 per cent of the pre-war price, according to size. But the amount was to be paid not in pre-war crowns or their equivalent but in Czechoslovak crowns, which are worth about one-seventh of the pre-war crowns. Thus the lawful owners of the land get only one-seventh of the pre-war valuation and only half of that in cash, while for the



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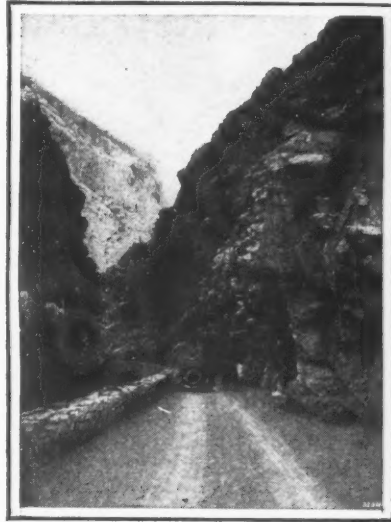
other half they have to take government bonds bearing 4 per cent interest.

In distributing the land taken away, the Czech Land Office has almost completely ignored Magyar claimants, which is not only a breach of the minorities treaty but also involves a great social injustice. On the Hungarian territory transferred to Czechoslovakia the agricultural element made up no less than 61.8 per cent of the whole population. Add to this that in pre-war Hungary 48.4 per cent of the Magyar agricultural population and only 33.6 per cent of the Slovak agricultural population did not own land, and the inequity of practically excluding Magyar claimants becomes even more glaring.

It is a general complaint in Slovakia and Ruthenia, as Upper Hungary is now called, that the Czechs are discriminating against these provinces and trying to make them Czech by force. The 3,000 schools which Dr. Wistein claims have been built by the Czechs in Slovakia and Ruthenia in the two years 1919 and 1920 had really been built by the Hungarians and were merely appropriated by the Czechs. The latter insist wherever possible on making the language of instruction Czech in order to denationalize the Slovaks and Ruthenians, whereas under Hungarian rule in more than one-third of the schools the language of instruction was Slovak or Ruthenian, respectively.

Part of the taxes collected in Slovakia and Ruthenia is used for developing Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, the exploitation of the people of the first-named two provinces impoverishing them to such an extent as to compel them to emigrate in much larger numbers than the people of the other three provinces, as may be seen from the following numbers of emigrants per 100,000 inhabitants in 1926: From Bohemia, 85; from Moravia, 120; from Silesia, 149; from Slovakia, 410, and from Ruthenia, 165.

As to Dr. Wistein's statement about having interrogated Count Albert Apponyi in Chicago in 1912 (really in 1911), how it was that 70 per cent of the people of Hungary were illiterate and only 6.1 per cent of all the inhabitants had the right of suffrage, I looked up Count Apponyi's own account of the incident (in *Lectures on the Peace Problem and on the Constitutional Growth of Hungary*, Budapest, 1911), and found (Page 66) that only the second question was put to him by Dr. Wistein and answered in the way indicated by her. The first question could not have been put to him without his pointing out the utter absurdity of it. The official figures of 1910 are not within my reach at present, but, according to the census of 1920, the percentage of illiteracy in Hungary was 8.4 in the cities and 16.9 in the small towns and rural districts,



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As to the franchise in Hungary, in 1920 universal male and female suffrage was introduced there, extending the right to vote to about 35 per cent of the total population. Male suffrage is even more universal, or less restricted, than in many of the older democracies, like France or the State of New York, for instance. In the latter new voters must produce a certificate of the eighth grade of an elementary school or else submit to an intelligence test, while in Hungary only passing the sixth grade is required, and even an illiterate person may vote if he has a farm or a business of his own.

EUGENE PIVANY,

Associate of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
New York.

* * *

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S PERSONALITY

To the Editor of Current History:

L. T. Merrill in the March issue, on Page 911, says: "Unique in some ways and most notable up to its time since the Civil War was Cleveland's inauguration in 1885. Though a stolid, unimaginative individual, he must have felt something of a thrill * * * realized the significance of his political victory." (Italics mine.)

It was my good fortune to have personally known Grover Cleveland in years when no one had thought of him as President of the United States. It was my good fortune to cast my first Presidential vote for that great statesman. If ever there lived a man who felt deeply and sincerely it was Grover Cleveland. If there lived a man who more intensely realized the political victory won by Grover Cleveland than Cleveland himself, I should like to hear of him. It was a fellow-Wisconsinite of the author of the lines quoted, General Bragg, who said, "We love Cleveland for the enemies he has made." No man could elicit such a compliment, dead or alive, without having been possessed of magnetic powers, of great personality. The State papers of Grover Cleveland, resting in the archives of the government in Washington, are a mute, yet eloquent, refutation of the charge unjustly



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SERBIA'S WAR RESPONSIBILITY

To the Editor of *Current History*:

I shall not claim your space to go into any discussion of Serbian war guilt with Mr. Vaso Trivanovitch on the basis of his article in *CURRENT HISTORY* for March. The whole matter is disposed of in admirable fashion in Chapters II and III of the second volume of Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*. There is no point of importance raised by Mr. Trivanovitch which has not been thoroughly considered by Professor Fay; yet he comes to the final conclusion (Vol. II, p. 74): "There is no good reason to doubt the accuracy of M. Ljuba Jovanovitch's revelations of 1924."

There is, however, one point mentioned by Mr. Trivanovitch which needs to be corrected, inasmuch as he makes much use of it in the effort to discredit the revisionist view of Serbian responsibility, namely, the assertion and implication that I have drawn my information regarding Serbian guilt solely from Stanojevitich's pamphlet (*CURRENT HISTORY*, March, 1929, p. 989). Whether or not my views on Serbian responsibility are correct, any weaknesses in them are not due to ignorance of such information as exists on this question. I have examined all the extant literature on the subject, and have, in addition, held long private conversations regarding the Serbian question with Count Berchtold, Edith Durham, Dr. von Wiesner, M. Bogitschevich and two active members of the Blanc Hand in 1914. I have also analyzed at length the apologies for Serbia by Seton-Watson, Schmitt, Kantorowicz, and others. My brief reference to Pashitsch's denial of April 25, 1926, was based upon inadequate evidence and was slightly misleading. But Professor Fay was able at a later date to examine the same text as that reproduced by M. Trivanovitch, and he still believes that Jovanovitch's version is not affected by the Pashitsch denial. Further, my premature version of the Pashitsch denial is certainly no more misleading than Trivanovitch's account of the nature of Ljuba Jovanovitch's rejoinder (Cf. Fay, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 72-74). M. Trivanovitch's implied charge of inadequate study of the subject was the less pardonable as he was aware of my *Genesis of the World War*, where full bibliographic reference is made to the materials on the Serbian question. Yet he cites as my full bibliography on the subject the necessarily scant references included in my *CURRENT HISTORY* article for August, 1927.

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World Finance—A Month's Survey

By D. W. ELLSWORTH
ASSISTANT EDITOR OF *The Analyst*

WHAT was apparently feared would develop into a major financial crisis was averted on March 26, when several large New York banks, "in defiance" of the restrictive campaign of the Federal Reserve banks, came to the assistance of the New York money market after the rate on call loans had risen to 20 per cent, a level which had previously been equaled or exceeded only in periods of financial crisis, such as occurred in 1907 and 1908 and in 1919 and 1920.

"So far as this institution is concerned," declared Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank, "we feel that we have an obligation paramount to any Federal Reserve warning, or anything else, to avert, so far as lies within our power, any dangerous crisis in the money market. While we are averse to resorting to rediscounting for the purpose of making a profit in the call money market, we certainly would not stand by and see a situation arise where money became impossible to obtain at any price."

Before this announcement things looked black indeed. The stock market, having risen to a new record peak on March 21, had been declining for three days. Ugly rumors were afloat regarding further restrictive measures by the Federal Reserve banks, call money continued to tighten persistently, and when, on March 25, the rate reached 14 per cent, traders began to fear the worst. On March 26, therefore, the market had to absorb a tremendous volume of selling from all over the country, and by noon the decline had reached the proportions of one of the sharp-est breaks in the history of the Exchange.

Yet this decline cannot, as commonly reported, be ascribed to the rise in call money to 20 per cent, for the simple reason that the minute the advance to the top figure occurred the market suddenly reversed itself and staged a recovery which was rather more remarkable than the preceding decline. A break of such magnitude almost always induces such widespread liquidation that it is impossible to halt the decline for several days. Doubtless it was this that led to fears of a financial crisis and the measures taken to avert it. What actually caused the break, indeed, was not the actual rise in call money, since stocks frequently advance in the face of high call money rates; it was rather fear—the fear that the Reserve banks were taking

measures which would make credit unavailable at any price—plus an internal or technical position which had become weakened in the course of the preceding advance.

In the circumstances, it still seems a little strange that the action of Mr. Mitchell and other leading bankers in making credit available—at a price—should have aroused the storm of criticism and counter-criticism that it did. It is true that traders in crowded brokerage houses hailed his action as a victory for their side over the "Federal Reserve," and that they immediately proceeded to bid up prices so rapidly that by the close of trading on March 27 leading industrial stocks had recovered more than half their losses from the March 21 peak. But sane heads were at a loss to find justification for Senator Glass's statement calling for Mr. Mitchell's resignation as a Class A director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York as punishment for having "slapped the Reserve Board in the face." Mr. Mitchell has all along been outspoken in his criticism of the excessive use of bank credit in the stock market. The National City Bank bulletin of April 1 made it clear that he favored an immediate increase in rediscount rates.

Detailed statistics on brokers' loans show, moreover, that the member banks of the Reserve System have heeded the request of the Reserve Board for cooperation in cutting down the volume of brokers' loans, as is evident from the following table:

BROKERS' LOANS

As Reported by New York City Member Banks (millions).

	Mar. 20, 1929.	Feb. 6, 1929.	Net Ch'ge
For own account.....	\$1,091	\$1,116	— 25
For out-of-town banks..	1,768	1,931	— 163
Total	\$2,859	\$3,047	— 188
For account of others..	2,934	2,621	+ 313
Total	\$5,793	\$5,668	+ 125

This table covers the period from just before the Reserve Board warning to just before the March 26 break in the stock market. It shows that although total brokers' loans had risen \$125,000,000, loans by banks and their out-of-town correspondents had actually been cut down \$188,000,000, whereas direct lending by corporations, individuals, invest-

ment trusts, foreign banks and others had increased \$313,000,000. Over this last classification of loans the member banks have, of course, no control, a fact which not only absolves the banks from blame but also leads to the explanation of the acute money-market stringency which developed in March.

It has been pointed out more than once in these columns that the growth of these loans for account of "others" constituted a menace in that they were subject to sudden withdrawal without proper measures being available to make up the deficiency. In practice this deficiency has been made up at the end of every quarter, when corporations withdraw funds for interest and dividend payments, by the member banks through the rediscount facilities of the Reserve banks and often through direct open-market operations by the Reserve banks themselves.

RESERVE BANKS DRASTIC ACTION


It had been suggested, even before the warning issued by the Federal Reserve Board, that this fact gave the Reserve banks a most effective means of enforcing their edicts against speculative excesses. Few thought, however, that the Reserve banks would take so drastic a step as to refuse to ease over a quarterly settlement period. Yet this is precisely what they did last March, and it is that measure which largely accounts for the acute stringency which developed on March 26. It is not, of course, a complete explanation. There were other contributing causes. One was the situation which arose in Chicago, where member banks cooperated with the Reserve banks so effectively as to bring about heavy liquidation on the Chicago Stock Exchange as early as March 21. There was a report, subsequently denied, of the formation of a money pool by Stock Exchange officials to support the Chicago money market. There is little doubt, in any case, that the withdrawal of funds from New York to Chicago was a contributing cause of the unsettlement in New York.

Another most interesting factor was the fact that sterling exchange remained firm in the face of 15 and 20 per cent call money. Previously the pound had shown pronounced weakness with every sharp upturn in call money, and the attraction of high rates in New York for foreign funds has been one of the most confident supports on which the bull party has built its campaign. The events of the past month have demonstrated that there is, after all, a definite limit to the amount which foreign lenders can or will supply to this country.

The controversy over President Mitchell's

action in averting a threatened crisis raged for days. Statements were given to the newspapers by ex-Senator Owen, who, with Senator Glass, was prominently connected with the legislation which provided the Federal Reserve System, by Representative McFadden, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and by numerous bankers, legislators and economists. The views expressed are so far apart as to defy intelligent analysis. All criticize the Federal Reserve authorities, who have few friends these days. Some denounce their lack of action, while some, on the other hand, go so far as to accuse the board of taking measures destined to bring on a business depression similar to that of 1921.

One criticism which seems justified is that,



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while the policy of the Reserve Board is sound with respect to the object it has in view, the methods employed for carrying out that policy are faulty. More specifically, the rediscount rate should be regulated more nearly automatically with respect to open market rates. As things stand at present, the New York rediscount rate is a full 1 per cent below the commercial paper rates and one-half of 1 per cent below the open market acceptance rates. This situation is anomalous in more ways than can be analyzed here. To take one example, however, it has prevented open market rates from rising more than they actually have, and has made the call money market just that much more attractive to lenders. It has served, of course, to prevent gold imports from abroad; but the recent experience of this country in that respect points to the need of letting other countries look out for themselves and their own gold reserves.

GOVERNOR YOUNG'S WARNING

Governor Young of the Reserve Board stated in a speech in Cincinnati that if conditions did not improve the rediscount rates would be raised as a last resort—this despite the long experience of the Bank of England and other central banks, which teaches nothing unless it is that the change in the discount rate should be a first, not a last, resort. As a last resort, refusal to tide the money market over a seasonal pinch would be appropriate, but only as a last resort.

The crisis over, trading in stocks simmered down somewhat, and at the middle of April the outlook for the financial future was decidedly mixed. London has shown some improvement since the bank rate was raised, but the restoration of the gold reserve is proving to be a slow, painful task. Only a few months and the seasonal pressure on the pound sterling will begin, and with it further gold losses, unless a decline in American security prices or a slackening in American business activity, or both, brings relaxation to the New York money market.

FOREIGN DISCOUNT RATES

Other countries are feeling the effects of our speculative maelstrom. On March 14 the Bank of Italy, which on Jan. 6 was able to reduce its discount rate to 6 per cent, was forced to raise it back to 7 per cent. On March 23 the Bank of the Netherlands raised its rate from 4½ to 5½ per cent.

The German exchange rate has been weak, even following gold shipments to this country, and the Reichsbank has had to make further inroads on its foreign exchange reserve to prevent greater loss to its gold reserve.

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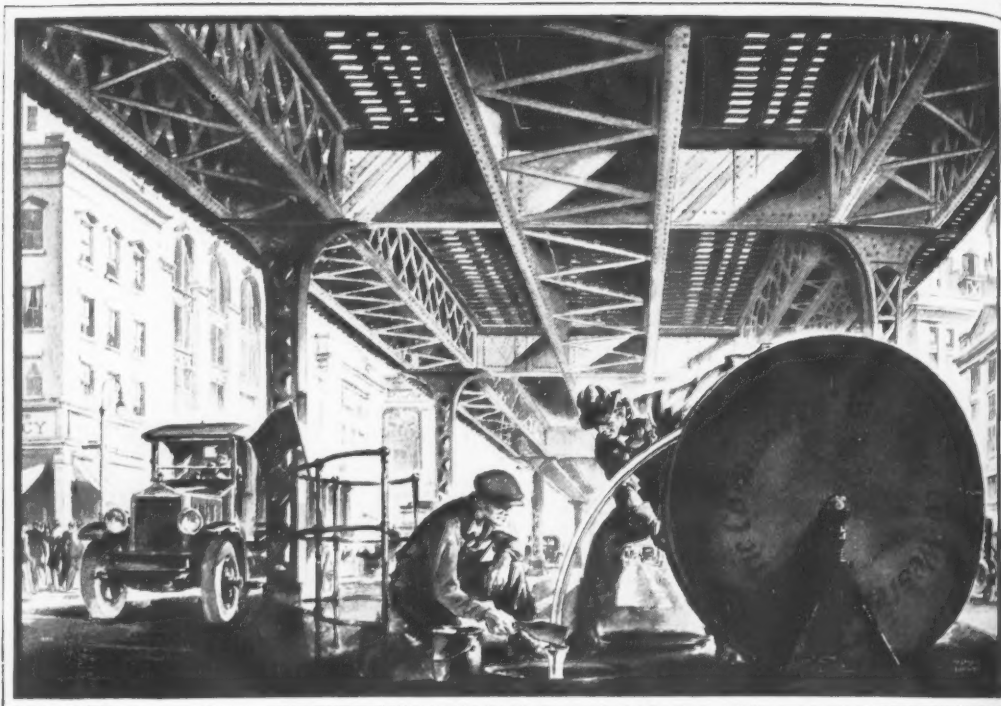
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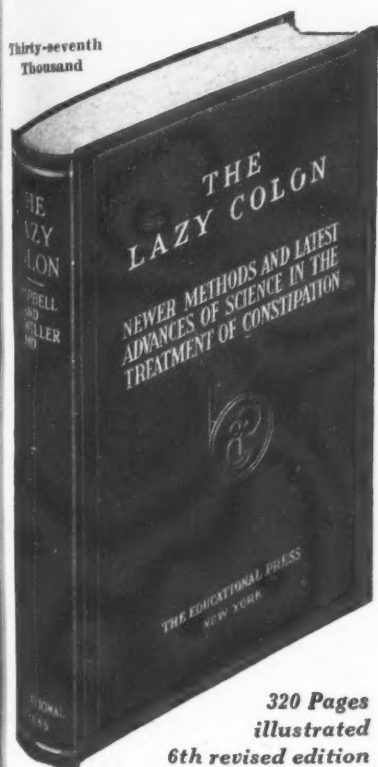
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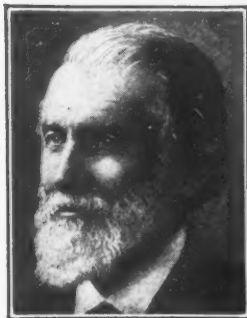


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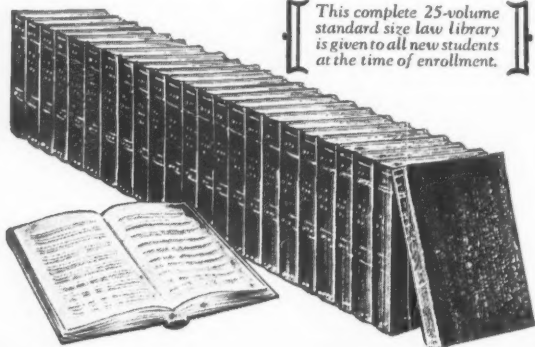
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Christian Missions in China

By E. T. WILLIAMS

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA; FORMERLY CHIEF OF FAR EASTERN DIVISION, STATE DEPARTMENT

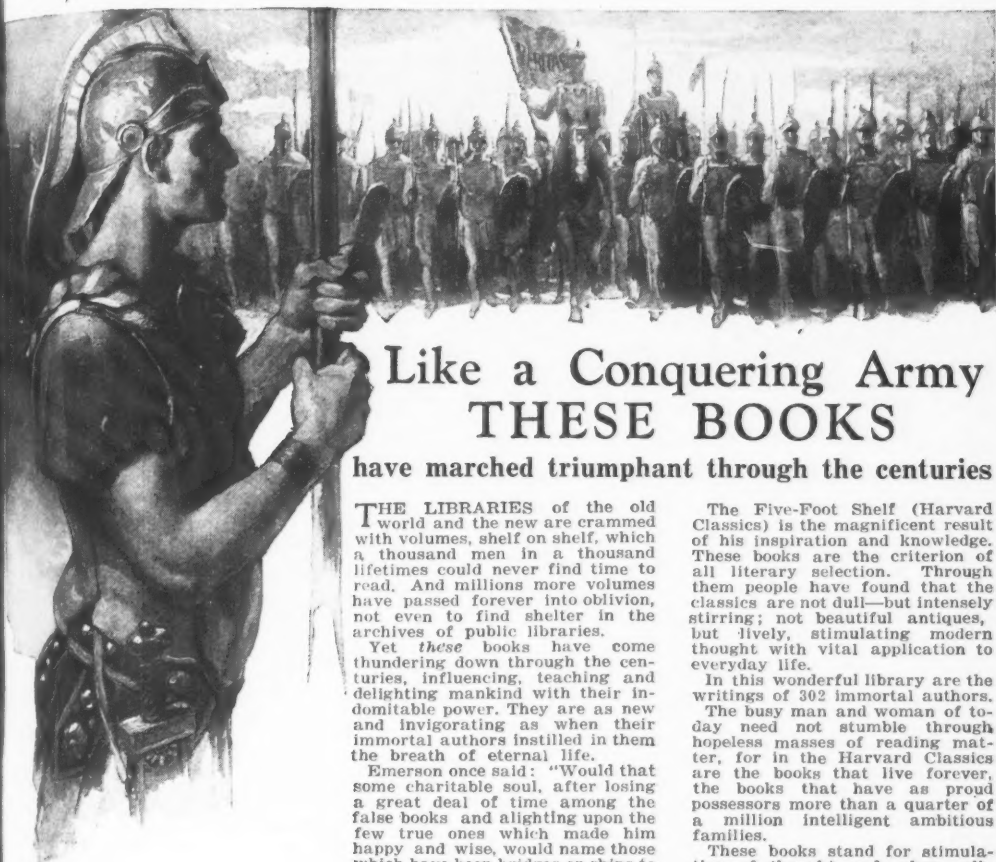
THIS VOLUME* COVERS the history of Christian Missions in China through thirteen centuries and is beyond question the most authoritative and satisfactory account in the English language of this great enterprise. Professor Latourette in 1910 was a member of the faculty of Yale-in-China, an institution established at Changsha in Hunan in 1902 by the Yale Foreign Missionary Society. Ill health compelled him to return to the United States in 1912. Here he took up educational work and in 1921 he became Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale. The work itself gives evidence of the very painstaking efforts of the author to consult original sources. The footnotes enable the reader, if he so desires, to verify every important statement in the text. Professor Latourette tells us in his preface of his desire to treat the work of all branches of the Church with perfect impartiality. Although he is a Protestant, his readers must admit that he has succeeded admirably in preserving this unbiased attitude, whether writing of Nestorians, of Roman Catholics or of the Russian Orthodox.

It is true, as he says (Page 3) that whoever "would understand the China of 1928 and of the preceding hundred years must not only be familiar with the history of domestic politics, of intellectual movement and of diplomatic and commercial contacts with the West but must also know and appraise the missionary and his activities." In his summary and conclusion the author apportions very justly the responsibility of the various groups representative of Western civilization for the revolution that has taken place in China. The emphasis placed by the missionary upon the worth and accountability of each individual has tended to break down the solidarity of the family and clan, and, taken with the instruction given in the mission schools, has done much to further the cause of democracy.

**A History of Christian Missions in China.* By Kenneth Scott Latourette, Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. New York: Macmillan, 1928. \$5.

But missionary work has gone on in China for much more than a century. The earliest Christian missionaries of whom we have any reports were the Nestorians (Page 53), who arrived at the Chinese capital in A. D. 635. Although they received the protection of the Chinese Government and met with considerable success, by A. D. 987 the Nestorian Church seems to have entirely disappeared from China Proper as an organized society. Professor Latourette suggests a number of reasons for this (Page 58); among them was the fact that Nestorian Christianity was primarily the religion of a foreign community residing in China. More important, probably, in the opinion of the reviewer, was the disturbed condition of North China, where, for more than three centuries after the fall of the T'ang Dynasty, there was almost continuous war, especially the strife between the Chinese and the Tartar and Turkish tribes. The country was repeatedly ravaged; multitudes were massacred, thousands carried away captive, and during the tenth century great numbers voluntarily migrated to the territories of the Khitans or Cathayans (modern Manchuria), where there was more orderly government, just as today thousands are leaving Chihli and Shantung for the same region and for a similar reason. Nestorianism probably existed in Cathay before the migration mentioned, but at any rate it obtained a strong foothold there.

After the establishment of the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century the trade routes across Asia were once more opened and intercourse with the West was resumed. This led to the re-introduction of Nestorianism into China. Churches were built in Yangchow, Chinkiang, Hangchow and elsewhere (Page 64). At the close of the same century John of Montecorvino reached Cambaluc (Page 69) as the first missionary of the Roman Catholic Church. Very sympathetic treatment is given to the wonderfully successful work of this great man. But, with the overthrow of the Mongols, Christianity again disap-



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Emerson once said: "Would that some charitable soul, after losing a great deal of time among the false books and alighting upon the few true ones which made him happy and wise, would name those which have been bridges or ships to carry him over the dark morasses and barren oceans into sacred cities, into places and temples."

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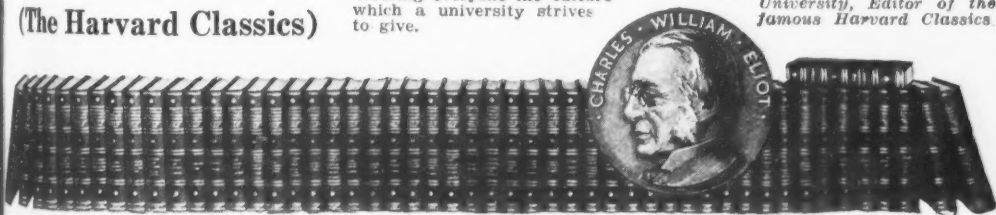
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peared from China and missionary activity ceased, until renewed by the Jesuits near the close of the sixteenth century (Page 91). The influence exerted by Ricci and his coadjutors at the court of K'anghsi is well known, as is also the history of the controversy between the Jesuits and other Catholic orders over the term for "God" and the toleration of ancestor worship. The Pope decided against the Jesuits, who desired to employ as the term for "God" that which the Chinese themselves used, and who would have allowed Chinese Christians to worship their ancestors.

The reviewer remembers well that on his arrival in China in 1887 these controversies were still engaging the attention of Protestant missionaries and that at the conference of 1890 one missionary, who would have sought an accommodation with the Chinese custom of ancestor worship, was severely frowned upon. It is interesting, therefore, to read (Page 809) that memorial services in honor of the dead are now allowed by some Protestant churches, especially at the time of the Ch'ing Ming festival, which is observed in the Spring by non-Christians as the time for worship at the graves. Such questions as these of terms and the observance of Chinese customs were scarcely noticed at the Centennial Conference of Protestant Missions held in 1907 (Page 797). Industrial and economic conditions were regarded as of more importance.

The observance of the centenary of Protestant missions in China in 1907 indicated a general acceptance of the arrival of Robert Morrison, in 1807, as the real beginning of Protestant work there, but Professor Latourrette does not forget the work of the Dutch Protestants in Formosa in the seventeenth century, nor that of Carey, Marshman and Lassar, who, although stationed at Serampore, began the first translation of the Bible into Chinese in 1806 (Page 209).

The Russians began mission work on the border of Mongolia in 1817, and the Bible was translated into Mongolian, but in 1841 the Russian Government stopped the work (Page 216). The Russians, however, have had a mission in Peking since the seventeenth century, but it was not until after 1900 that much attention was given to propaganda.

The author in a very interesting manner points out (Pages 826-830) the differences of methods employed by Roman Catholics and Protestants. Among other differences he notes that, while Roman Catholics did very little public preaching for the benefit of non-Christians and usually made their approach to them through Chinese assistants, the Protestants itinerated in all directions, circulated tracts and portions of the Scriptures, and preached on the streets or in halls opened for the especial purpose of reaching the non-

Christians. The Roman Catholics, moreover, were disposed to segregate the Christians and establish Christian communities. Their schools and hospitals were maintained chiefly for their own people. The Protestants made no attempt to separate the Christians from their non-Christian neighbors, and their institutions, whether schools, hospitals or orphanages, were maintained for all, regardless of creed. Protestants, too, more than Roman Catholics, inaugurated a great many movements for social reform.

It was to be expected, of course, that the various denominations of Protestants engaged in mission work would carry into the foreign field the differences that marked them at home. In most cases these differences meant nothing to the Chinese convert. The younger missionaries, too, care little for denominational peculiarities. It has resulted, therefore, under pressure of Chinese Christians and of the liberal minded among the missionaries, that a strong movement for cooperation has taken place (Page 800). "A provisional General Assembly met in Shanghai in 1922. * * * By Jan. 1, 1927, sixteen denominational groups had attached themselves to the new body." A number, however, still regard their distinctive polity or ritual or creed as of more importance than union. "Closely associated with progress toward cooperation and union was the movement to make the Church more nearly Chinese" (Page 801). Numbers of churches have become to a great extent self-supporting. The Nationalist movement in some regions hastened the assumption of control by the Chinese, since the missionaries were compelled to leave their stations. In some instances foreign teachers and physicians were driven out by students and the institutions taken over by the natives. The author recognizes the influence of Russian communism in the anti-Christian movement, but in the opinion of the reviewer it was even greater than is acknowledged. Although the first outbreak of this recent movement was in 1922 (Page 695), the work of the Communists began as early as 1919, when they established the first Communist cells in China. A Communist party was organized in 1921. Dr. Sun's acceptance of Russian financial and military assistance required him to receive also the Soviet's political advisers, and these not only organized labor and peasants' unions but filled the members of these unions with anti-Christian sentiment. It was the Russian contingent that was chiefly responsible for the attack upon missionaries at Nanking in March, 1927.

The author closes his narrative with the events of 1926, when most of the missionaries were compelled to withdraw from China. Out of some 8,000 Protestant missionaries not more than 500 were left in the interior of the

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country (Page 820). Matters have considerably improved since that date, but the anti-Christian sentiment is still quite strong. In fact, it is anti-religious rather than anti-Christian. Attempts have been made by the educational authorities to suppress religious teaching in foreign-owned schools by refusing them registration, and in the public schools of China it is forbidden to teach even the Confucian classics, lest superstition be encouraged. This would seem to be an attack upon the very foundations of Chinese civilization. No doubt there will be a reaction from such extreme radicalism.

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A citizen of the United States and a disciple of Theodore Roosevelt, he has no doubts over the growing influence of his country. He is adamant in upholding the Monroe Doctrine and considers it to be, in effect, an element in international law. His insistence on the freedom of the seas is explicit, nor does he consider that any apology need be made for the predominance of the United States in the Caribbean. On the contrary, he reminds us of the fact, sometimes overlooked, that the intervention by President McKinley which led to the war with Spain was due not alone to the sinking of the Maine, but to a continuing and much more expensive disaster, that is, the chronic prevalence of yellow fever, in which epidemic, spreading northward,

**The Isthmian Highway.* By Hugh Gordon Miller, with forewords by Don Miguel Cruchaga and James M. Beck. New York: Macmillan. \$4.50.

scores of thousands of American citizens over a long period of years had lost their lives. It was fever as well as finance that wrecked the construction of the Panama Canal by the French, and in the fight against fever, carried on with such heroism by Walter Read and his associates, Mr. Miller is much more interested than he is in the exploits of Admiral Dewey and his battleships.

Indeed, Mr. Miller is not one who criticizes President Roosevelt's manner of acquiring the route through Panama. Brushing aside the technicalities, he bases himself, fairly and squarely, on the doctrine of "eminent domain," according to which land may be acquired by the community for the necessities of the community. Tracing the story of what he calls "the isthmian highway" over a period of four hundred years, he concludes that the right to cut a channel—indeed, as many channels as may be needed—between the Atlantic and the Pacific is inherent in the geography of the Americas. If Colombia and Nicaragua are unable to execute the work, and guard it when executed, they forfeit by that impotence their right to object to another nation making good their default.

To the radical such a contention sounds like mere imperialism. But it is the peculiar excellence of Mr. Miller's handling of the problem that he is able at every point to associate an appropriate duty with the right which he claims. Just as he denies that Colombia and Nicaragua had a right to do what they liked with their own isthmus, so he denies that the United States has a right to do what it likes with "its own ditch." In one case as in the other, the ownership is not absolute but conditional.

It is here that we approach what may be called the central thesis of Mr. Miller's gospel. He is no idealist. He recognizes the material actualities of commerce. But he elevates the possession which is nine points of the law into a tenth point that includes the rest. Any nation, so he insists, which holds the Panama Canal must be a trustee for the rest of the world.

As a lawyer, he appeals to precedent. We have in these pages a clear account, fully documented, of the Clayton-Bulwer, Hay-Pauncefote and other treaties which have determined the diplomatic title of the United States in the Caribbean. But it is not on these instruments alone that the contention of Mr. Miller depends. He holds that the treaties, usually concluded with Great Britain, were no more than the expression of what must always be the obligation of the United States as trustee to all mercantile countries.

The reasoning leads Mr. Miller inevitably into an enthusiastic support of equal tolls, as secured by President Wilson, a subject on

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which some years ago he wrote a previous and less ambitious book. To Mr. Miller an equality of tolls, adjusted by strict accountability of the canal enterprise, is a principle applicable to all waterways and even railroads, a principle essential to transport of every kind.

It is along this path that Mr. Miller approaches the Anglo-American position. To Great Britain he is friendly, but he realizes that mere compliment is no solution of the alleged rivalry between the two sovereignties. For instance, he gives to Canning the full credit for suggesting what developed into the Monroe Doctrine, and, incidentally, prints the doctrine in Monroe's handwriting, which is useful. But he makes it quite clear that if the United States proclaimed the doctrine on her own sole authority, the reason was England's reactionary hesitation in recognizing the independence of the Latin-American republics.

Mr. Miller is thus no partisan. What he urges is that Great Britain with the Suez Canal, like the United States with the Panama Canal, is a trustee or mandatory; that the two powers are sharing what is inevitably a common responsibility to the world as a whole and that, whether they like one another or not, they cannot discharge that responsibility except as partners in a common task. In face of these immense opportunities, he holds it to be unthinkable that London and Washington will fail to arrive at an understanding of what is to be the use of blockade in the event of a future war, if such a calamity has now to be contemplated.

Mexico and oil, Nicaragua and her elections, Haiti and her debts, naturally enter into these pages, and opinions will differ on the question whether Mr. Miller, even with his numerous quotations from Presidents and Secretaries of State, has always adjusted the initiative of the United States to his thesis that all nations are equal.

Brief Book Reviews

COMBING THE CARIBBEES. By Harry L. Foster. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1929. \$3.

"A simple narrative of travel," the author calls this charming book, in which he recounts the story of his ramblings through the West Indies, chiefly Haiti. The book is an excellent antidote for, as well as complement to, Seabrook's book, *The Magic Island*; the style, the point of view, the facts are in all ways different from Seabrook's, although one or two of the anecdotes are the same. There is in this volume only passing references to voodooism in Haiti, and in its place considerable discussion

of the problems of white occupation, government, sanitation and administrative matters. "I have no great vital message to deliver," the author concludes. "In looking back I find that I think most keenly of the various systems of government. The French, in Guadeloupe and Martinique, chum on terms of comradeship with their black protégés. They leave the islands dirty and insanitary, yet command the friendship if not the respect, of the natives. The English, in Barbados and Trinidad, are absolute rulers, who hold themselves completely aloof from those they rule. They are frankly and honestly so imperialistic that no one questions their authority. The Americans try to steer a middle course and make an utter failure of it. Their protégés in every case are an alien folk, whose speech, whose thought, whose mode of life, are different from our own. In their adoption by Uncle Sam they have never been consulted. And no one, however improvident he may know himself to be, quite likes the self-constituted big brother who takes charge of his bank account. Our hypocrisy never fools them."

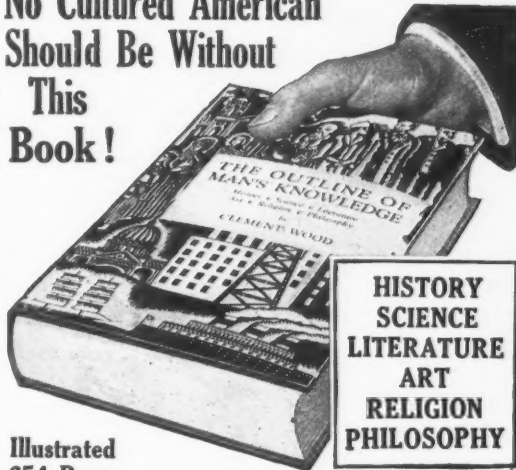
EUROPE—A History of Ten Years. By Raymond Leslie Buell. New York: Macmillan Company, 1928. \$2.50.

It is undoubtedly essential for the average student of world affairs that every decade or so a brief book be written summing up the events of the past ten years; and it is undoubtedly essential and even valuable that this book be written as simply as possible. This book Mr. Buell has provided us with, in a very brief, a very simple and a very concise form. His first chapter, which serves as an introduction to the study of post-war affairs, is a summary in seventeen pages, of the ultimate and immediate causes of the World War and of the history of the World War itself. The book then goes on chronologically to discuss the peace settlement of Versailles, the debts problem and the Dawes plan, which is explained in clear fashion. Locarno is the subject of a chapter devoted to purely international affairs. The author then goes on to discuss the internal affairs of France, England, Germany, Poland and the Balkans. The concluding chapter is entitled, "Prospects for Peace," which according to Mr. Buell, would be more favorable if the Allies put less emphasis on adhering to the terms of the Versailles Treaty, but which, on the other hand, are markedly improving under the beneficent effect, spiritual if not material, of the Kellogg Peace Treaty.

THE CURIOUS LOTTERY. By Walter Durranty. New York: Coward-McCann, 1929. \$2.50.

This is a book of exceptional interest from the pen of the correspondent of *The New York Times* in Moscow. It deals with the process of justice in Soviet Russia, telling the story of various trials, including that arising from the conspiracy in the Don coal regions—the famous Donetz affair. In several of the cases Mr. Durranty emphasizes the fact that adverse verdicts were given not because of guilt but because the defendant had shown himself to be deplorably superstitious. In the case of a man who murdered his wife and later confessed so that she might have fitting burial, the court in rendering the decision made the following statement: "The appellant has held a position of trust under the Soviet Government, where it was his duty to give an example of new and free revolutionary life to the backward peasant masses. To this trust he has been false, showing proof

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of a degrading and obsolete superstition. The Court holds that his final unseemly action exaggerates the gravity of his crime.' So poor Danchenko got eight years in prison, not because he killed his wife, but for trying to grow her restless spirit sleep." In the concluding pages of the book Mr. Duranty sums up the fundamental differences between Western and Soviet law: "The difference between Soviet Jurisprudence and Western Law appears in each of these cases, from the great Shakhin treason trial to the petty squabble of the young soldier and the priest. In the West, the basic purpose of Law is the protection of person and property. In Russia it is the protection of the State. Western law safeguards the individual. Russia law the community. * * * According to Soviet Law it is the social factor that predominates. In the preamble to the Soviet legal code there is a significant phrase: 'In case of doubt the decision shall be determined by the revolutionary conscience of the judges.' Originally, perhaps, this was meant to imply that the ignorant and humble should be protected against the strong and wise. In practice it now makes the interest of the community the ultimate criterion. The State is everything, the individual nothing."

EUGENE O'NEILL: THE MAN AND HIS PLAYS. By Barrett H. Clark. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. \$1.50.

This is a considerably revised and extended version of Mr. Clark's earlier book on Eugene O'Neill and as such is a highly valuable contribution to the cultural history of contemporary America. It is, of course, far too soon to attempt an estimate of Mr. O'Neill's position as a dramatist, but there is no doubt that so far he is the one outstanding American writer who has used the drama as his vehicle of expression. As is to be expected from an authority of Mr. Clark's eminence, this volume possesses all the utilitarian virtues that will satisfy the seeker after information and at the same time it carries weight for its qualities of interpretation and criticism.

THE SOVIET UNION: Facts, Descriptions, Statistics. Washington, D. C.: Soviet Union Information Bureau, 1929. 288 pages. \$1.50.

This is an official survey in English from the standpoint of the Soviet authorities of all phases of development in the Soviet Union, brought up to date to January, 1929. The introduction states that "there is every reason for confidence that the end of the second decade [of Soviet rule] will see the country well advanced toward a full and comprehensive use of its natural resources and a high degree of industrial achievement along advanced technical lines. A substantial start has already been made."

JEFFERSON—FRIEND OF FRANCE—1793. By Meade Minnigerode. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons—The Knickerbocker Press, 1928. \$5.

It is misleading of the author to entitle this biography "Jefferson." It would have been more accurate and possibly more enticing to his readers if his subtitle had led off: "The Career of Edmond Charles Genet—Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic to the United States, as Revealed by His Private Papers." It is remarkable, in view of the actual title, that in the first one hundred pages Jefferson's name is mentioned exactly once, and that only in passing. The majority of

public school young Americans who learned their American history in the seventh and eighth grades have not been taught to look on Genet with any feeling of admiration; now Mr. Emmerode has joined the ranks of those who are tearing away the veil from the heroes and heroes of our early American history, and has presented the Genet "facts as they were." The facts about Edmund Genet, particularly about his early career in France and for a brief time in Russia, are extremely interesting and enlightening; one has only to regret that the author has so determinedly interpreted these facts in a favorable light.

Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

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AUGER, E. Eagles, *Black and White: The Fight for the Sea*. New York: Appleton, 1929. \$1.50. A defense on historical and economic grounds of the present boundaries of Poland and an argument that a peaceful Europe depends on the acceptance of the status quo by Germany. By Vladimir Poliakov.

BARRITT, E. Boyd. *While Peter Sleeps*. New York: Ives Washburn, 1929. \$3.

A devout Catholic, formerly a member of the Jesuit Order, in a searching criticism of some phases of the policy of his Church.

DILLER, ELEANOR LANSING. *The French Franc, 1914-1928: The Facts and Their Interpretation*. New York: Macmillan, 1929. \$6.50.

One of the publications of the Harvard Bureau of International Research. An important study of inflation and its effect on prices, exchanges, production and trade.

EVANS, IOR LESLIE. *The British in Tropical Africa: An Historical Outline*. New York: Macmillan, 1929. \$4.50.

"A summary, in convenient compass, of the somewhat haphazard manner in which our tropical African Empire came into being." (From the preface).

FRANK, WALDO. *The Rediscovery of America: An Introduction to a Philosophy of American Life*. New York: Scribner, 1929. \$3.

An interpretation and a criticism of American life, written in a charming and stimulating style.

GRUNT, W. J. *The Road to Oregon: A Chronicle of the Great Emigrant Trail*. New York: Longmans, 1929. \$5.

A carefully documented history of the Western emigration during the first half of the nineteenth century along the Oregon Trail.

HACKETT, J. D. *Labor Management*. New York: Appleton, 1929. \$5.

A description and discussion of modern American methods of personnel work and employer-employee relationships.

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A survey of the silk and rayon industry, with particular reference to its labor policies. The first of a series of similar surveys prepared by the Labor Research Association.

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A study of the social and religious effects of revivals, from the time of Jonathan Edwards to that of Aimee MacPherson.

MEAKIN, WALTER. *The New Industrial Revolution: A Study for the General Reader of Rationalization and Post-War Tendencies of Capital and Labor*. New York: Brentano, 1929. \$3.

The reorganization of German industry following 1925, through trusts and cartels more or less controlled by the government, and the possibility of applying the same method in England.

MLYNARSKI, FELIKS. *Gold and Central Banks*. New York: Macmillan, 1929. \$2.00.

Discusses the imperfections of the gold standard and argues that the gold supply should be internationally controlled.

MONTGOMERY, ROBERT HARGROVE. *The Cooperative Pattern in Cotton*. New York: Macmillan, 1929. \$2.50.

The experience of the Texas Farm Bureau Cotton Association in the cooperative marketing of cotton.

MOWAT, ROBERT BALMAIN. *The Life of Lord Pauncefote, First Ambassador to the United States*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929. \$3.

A brilliantly written life of the first British Ambassador to the United States who served in Washington from 1889 to 1902.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE. *Third Series*. London: Macmillan, 1929. 10s. 6d.

A third series of papers read before the Geneva Institute of International Relations summarizing the work of the League during the preceding year.

SMITH, ARTHUR D. HOWDEN. *John Jacob Astor, Landlord of New York*. Philadelphia: Lipincott, 1929. \$3.

The romantic story of the founder of one of the great American fortunes and his contribution to the winning of the West.

WARE, NORMAN J. *The Labor Movement in the United States 1860 to 1895*. New York: Appleton, 1930. \$3.

A continuation of Mr. Ware's history of the labor movement, the first volume of which, *The Industrial Worker 1840-1860*, appeared in 1928.

WERNER, M. R. *Bryan*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. \$3.50.

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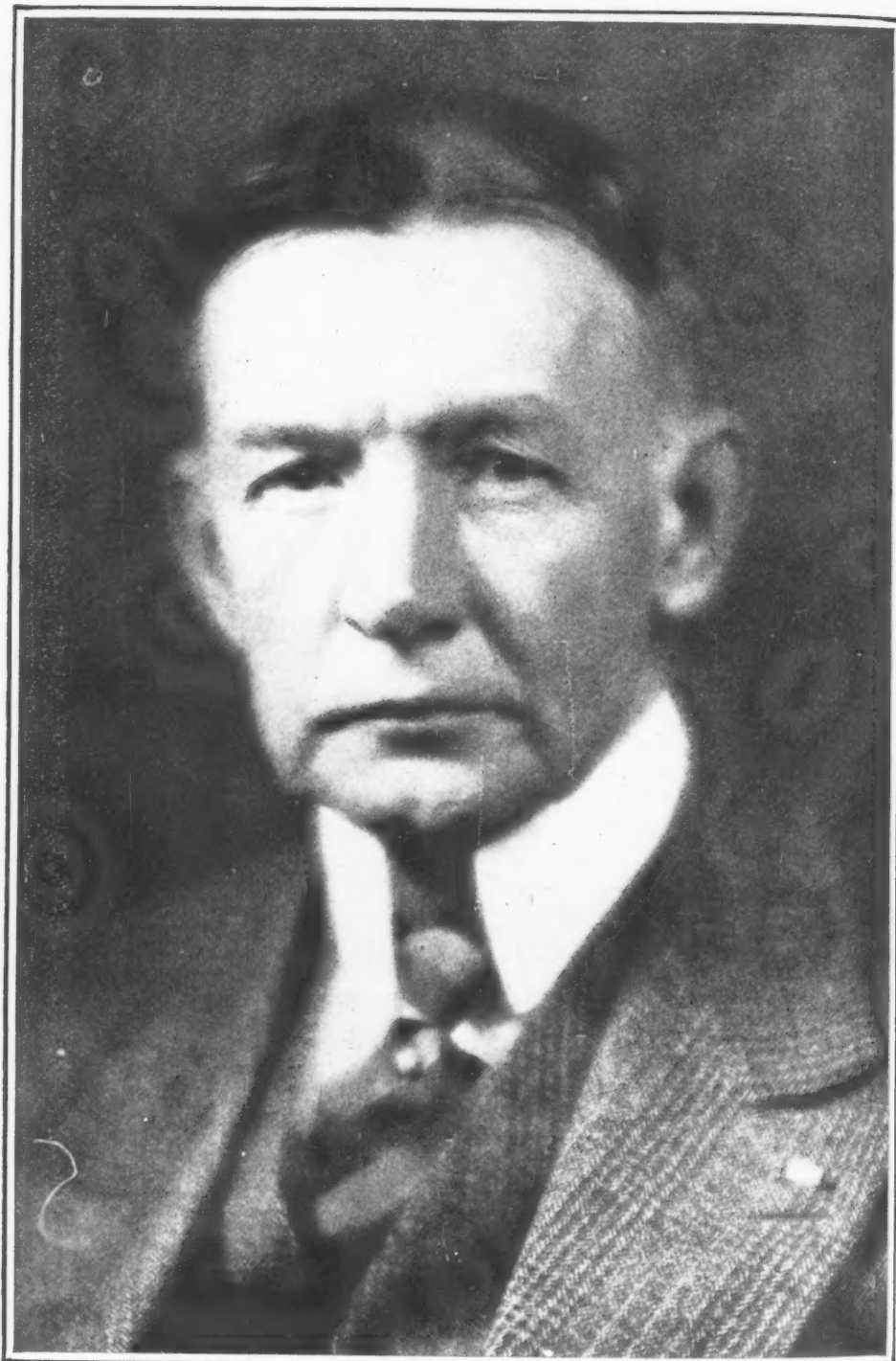
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